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PRIMITIVE & MEDIAEVAL JAPANESE TEXTS

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH WITH INTRODUCTIONS
NOTES AND GLOSSARIES

BY

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ILLUSTRATED FROM JAPANESE SOURCES

WITH A COMPANION VOLUME OF ROMANIZED TEXTS

博學而詳說之將以反

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THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
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MINISTER TO CHINA
SOMETIME MINISTER TO JAPAN

HI NI MUKAHI
HI NO DE NO HIKARI
HI NO IRI NO
HINA NI I-WATASHITE
HIZHIRI SHIRUSERI

KASANE-GOHI [五ウ] KA MO

PREFACE

IN preparing the present volume and its companion volume of romanized texts I have desired to assist the English reader towards some fuller understanding of the primitive and mediæval literature of Japan than can be gathered from merely literal or imitative translations. The examples chosen are the earliest of the categories to which they respectively belong, and have been followed, more or less closely, as models, in the production of most of the purely Japanese—as distinct from Japano-Chinese—literature of later times.

The first is a collection of all the long lays (*nagauta*, or *chôka*) of the famous Anthology (*Manyôshû*) of the eighth century of our era, together with most of their *tanka* or *hanka*—*mizika* or *kaheshi uta*—or envoys. The second is the Story of the Old Bamboo Wicker-worker (*Taketori no Okina no Monogatari*), a romance of the tenth century ; the third is Tsurayuki's celebrated preface to his *Kokinshû* (Garner of Japanese Verse, Old and New), an Anthology mainly of *tanka* or single stanzas, of the same century, more admired, perhaps, by the Japanese than its immediate and greater predecessor, the *Manyôshû* itself ; and the last is the *utahi* or drama of the *Nô* of *Takasago*, the oldest, it may be, of the miracle-plays or semi-religious plays accompanied by music, mime, and dance of mediæval Japan.

The Anthology and the Story of the Wicker-worker, though not uninfluenced, are among the least influenced by Chinese thought or example of the

literary productions of archaic Japan, while the Preface and Miracle-Play are admiring attempts to maintain the ancient spirit. In all four examples of the literature of Old Japan, but more especially in the first two, the Chinese script in which they are written is merely and mainly a veil of obscurity, and their transliteration is, in effect, a restoration more or less accurate of the ancient texts. The two volumes taken together, with their introductions, notes, and glossaries, will not only enable the reader, with a very moderate amount of labour, not uninteresting in itself, to appreciate a curious phase of far-eastern literature, but—with the addition of a knowledge of easy syllabaries—will render accessible to him most of the mediaeval and later poetry, fiction, and narrative of Dai Nippon.

In the translations, the form and language of the text have been adhered to as closely as was possible. But, following King Alfred's example, I have sought to transfer meanings rather than mere expressions. With Old Japanese, however, much more than with the modern over-sinicized tongue, an approach to a literal version is, not seldom, quite feasible, if only the order of words be in proper measure reversed, and due allowance made for poetic inversions. I have tried to avoid what I believe to be the chief blemishes incident to translation from an oriental tongue—paraphrase and the replacement of eastern by western modes of thought and diction. This was the easier in that Japan, in conformity with her geographical position, is less, in fact, oriental, in the usual sense of the expression, than China, as China herself is than the middle and nearer East. The word-plays in the Anthology are treated as serious elements in the decoration of the verse—it is but seldom in the ancient *uta* or poems

that they are otherwise intended. Verbal adornment, however, can but rarely be transferred from one tongue to another, and I have been obliged in many cases to content myself with endeavouring to convey to the mind of a western reader the impressions likely to have been made upon the mind of a Japanese hearer of the first millennium of our era by the ingenious word-jugglery of the period. At the best, translations; especially of the *Anthology*, can reproduce but a portion of the significance of the *uta*, and convey but a shadow of whatever beauty they possess. My aim, generally, has been to render the whole thought of the original texts, preserving as much as possible of their decoration, colour, and distinctive impersonality, even of their conventionalisms, without loss of their essential simplicity. Only a partial success can be hoped for; the texts themselves are corrupt, there are many points, contextual, circumstantial, and interpretative, on which no certainty is attainable. There must, too, be discoverable not a few errors of translation. Only a quite inadequate Japanese library has been at my disposal, nor have I been able to profit by the assistance of native *wagakusha* (scholars), whose erudition, especially in Old Japanese, is beyond the opportunity but not the envy of the foreign scholar. With regard to the *Manyôshû*, more particularly, the data for a satisfactory comparison and criticism of the various traditional explanations of the commentators are scattered and of very uncertain value; to enter upon their discussion would be out of the question elsewhere than in Japan itself, and even there it is pretty certain that the result would not be commensurate with the necessary expenditure of time and toil. The Introduction to the *Anthology*, especially

sections I, V, VIII, X, XI, and XII, should be read as a preliminary to the perusal of the *uta*, if justice is to be done to these primal efforts of the Japanese muse, and their true significance adequately understood.

I desire here to acknowledge my great indebtedness to the writings of Dr. Aston, C.M.G., Professor B. H. Chamberlain, Dr. Karl Florenz, and Sir Ernest Satow, G.C.M.G.; to my friend, Mr. Minakata Kumagusu; to the contributors to the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan; to the works of Captain Brinkléy, R.A., especially to his great Japanese-English Lexicon; to the similar work of M. Lemaréchal; to that excellent native dictionary the *Kotoba no Izumi* (Fount of Language); to the *Jimmei-jisho* (Japanese Dictionary of National Biography), and—above all—to the *Manyôshû Kogi*.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

Send, June, 1906.

The punctuation in the following pages is part of the translation, especially in relation to the *Manyôshû*. Colon and semicolon are avoided, and the climatic construction of the Japanese text has been preserved as much as possible (even at the risk, occasionally, of some little trouble to the reader), being essential to a true version; in particular the simple dash has been much employed to this end. The spelling of Japanese words is syllabic in the case of quoted texts, otherwise modern and phonetic.

The following works, among others, in addition to those referred to in the Preface, have been consulted in the preparation of these volumes.

Kozhiki den, 古事記傳, Motowori's great annotated edition of the Kojiki.

Nihonshoki Tsūkai, 日本書記通釋, Ihida's great edition of the Nihongi, with Commentary.

Zōkyū Nihongi, 續日本記, Continuation of the Nihongi.

Yamato Monogatari, 大和物語, Yamato Tales (the title perhaps means Japanese, as distinct from Chinese Tales).

Nihon Gwaishi, 日本外史, Outer (unofficial) History of Japan.

Wamyō Ruijiushō, 倭各類聚錄, An Explanatory List of Various Japanese Names (Words) — the earliest native dictionary.

Gunsho Ichiran, 羣書一覽, A View of the World of Books (a bibliography, early nineteenth century).

Manyōshū Riyakuge, 萬葉集略解, The Anthology, with Brief Commentary.

Manyōshū Daishōki, 代匠記. This is Keichū's celebrated and fundamental edition of the Anthology, with Commentary.

Wakunshiori, 和訓栞, Clue to Japanese Meanings.

Wakansansaidzuwe, 和漢三才圖會, Illustrated Encyclopaedia of the Three Powers (Heaven, Earth, and Man), early eighteenth century.

Makura Kotoba Shiuran, 枕辭集覽, Explanatory List of Pillow-words.

Shokubutsu Mei-i, 植物各彙, List of Names, Native and Scientific, of Japanese Plants.

Nippon Gōkogaku, 日本考古學, Treatise on Japanese Archaeology.

Dai Nippon Jimmeijisho, 大日本人各辭書, Dictionary of National (Japanese) Biography.

Shikking, 詩經, Classic of (Chinese) Poetry.

The Editions of the *Munyôshû* and *Taketori* published by the Hakubunkwan.

Various *Meisho*, 各所, Itineraries of the Provinces, with descriptions and illustrations, especially of Settsu and Yamato.

Essays on the Chinese Language. Watters.

Chinese Biographical Dictionary. Dr. H. A. Gilès.

Handbook to Chinese Buddhism. E. J. Eitel.

Early Institutional Life of Japan. K. Asakawa.

The Poetry of the Chinese. Sir John Davis.

Shintô, or the Way of the Gods. Dr. W. G. Aston.

History of Japan. Murdoch and Yamagata.

Chinese Reader's Manual. Mayers.

Poésies de l'Époque des Thang. Marquis D'Hervey-St.-Denys.

Zoologie Mythologique. De Gubernatis.

Mythologie des Plantes. De Gubernatis.

Dictionnaire Français-Japonais. E. Raguet, M.A.

Dictionnaire historique et géographique du Japon, par E. Papinet.

Blüthen Chinesischen Litteratur. A. Forke.

Geschichte der Chinesischen Litteratur. Dr. W. Grube.

Geschichte der Japanischen Litteratur. Dr. K. Florenz.

Geschichte von Japan. O. Nachod.

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MAP AND ILLUSTRATIONS

MAP OF THE WORLD, AS KNOWN TO THE JAPANESE

OF THE MYTHICAL ERA to face p. xxv

(By kind permission of Professor Chamberlain, from his translation of the Kozhiki, being the Supplement to vol. x of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.)

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The following abbreviations are employed in this volume :—

(K.) Professor Chamberlain's translation of the Kojiki.

(N.) Dr. Aston's translation of the Nihongi.

(Fl.) Professor Florenz's part translation of the Nihongi.

(Br.) Captain Brinkley's Japanese-English Dictionary.

(I.) Kotoba no Izumi.

(T. A. S. J.) Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

MANYÔSHIU INTRODUCTION

§ I. GENERAL

OF the Japanese, as of the other great races of mankind, the earliest recorded utterances are poetical. But these are not theirs alone; they are the primal extant deliverances of the whole Ural-Altaic stock, which still prevails, as it prevailed thousands of years ago, from the Caspian Sea to the northern shores of the Eastern Pacific. For the Japanese are Tartars; their kinsfolk in the West are the Huns and Turks; in the East the islanders of Liukiu, the peninsulars of Korea, the nomads of Mongolia, and the farmers of Manchuria. In none of these lands and islands has the Chinaman or the Slav any birthright of presence; among men who dwell outside their borders the Japanese can show the justest title to predominance.

It may well be doubted whether the introduction of Chinese civilization—in the wake of Buddhism or otherwise—during the middle centuries of the first millennium of the Christian era was not a distinct, though inevitable, misfortune for Japan. I will not assert this, but it may be pointed out that it neither consolidated the State nor affirmed the throne, while it arrested the language, altered the nature of the religion, and kept in bondage to an alien past the intellect of the country for a millennium and a half, up to the period of its emancipation at the close of the Bakufu¹ period in the latter third of the nineteenth century.

In modern Japanese, the characters (ideographs) representing the Japano-Chinese words, forming now two-thirds and ever forming more of the vocabulary, must be *seen* to be understood; the sound alone does not give the sense. Thus, the development of the language in the direction of imagery or rhetorical expression was almost destroyed. One can neither be witty nor pathetic in the current language of

¹ The Shōgunate (1192-1868), lit. camp-rule.

educated Japan, save so far as recourse is had to the remains of Old Japanese it contains, or to very completely naturalized Chinese compounds. The modern literature of Japan, as such, is nearly worthless. Not a line of power or beauty, it is scarcely too much to say, has been penned since the last *monogatari* was written.¹ Quite other is the case with Old Japanese within its own limits. Those limits are set by its comparatively scanty vocabulary. But, in this respect, we must not forget how little Old Japanese is extant; not very much, indeed, as literature, if we except the *monogatari* and a few other works, beyond what is contained in the present volume. Of Old Japanese the vocabulary was as susceptible of clear and forcible compound expression as Greek. The *makura kotoba*, or fixed epithets, as will be better understood after a perusal of Section XII of this Introduction, could all, apart from their special allusiveness, be perfectly rendered in Greek; and most of the Homeric epithets, not involving personification, could with equal accuracy be rendered in Old Japanese. In many other ways—in its prefixes, such as *mi*, *sa*, *ka*, *i*, *ta*—analogies between the two languages may be discovered: in its compound verbs, in expressions equivalent to *δύς*, *ἐν*, &c.; in form-words or particles such as *ya*, *ka*, *mo*, *koso*, *so*, *baya*, *na*, *ne*, *namu*, and in other analogous ways essential similarities may be found. In Old Japanese, differing from the modern tongue, there existed distinct pronouns, *a*, *na*, *ka*, *so*, *ko*, &c., which were, besides, not scantily used. The subject of the verb was more often expressed; the commencement even of personification may be detected. But the introduction of Chinese civilization was the beginning of the end of all this. The script hastened the process: it was easier to use the Chinese combinations than a great variety of ideographs as mere phonetic elements (the syllabaries did

¹ It is scarcely too much to say that the modern language of Japan, in its rapidly progressive sinicization, becomes more and more incapable of rendering, so as to be fully understood by a Japanese not already acquainted with some Western language, a single sentence, not simply descriptive or narrative, of the literature, properly so called, of the Occident.

not come into general use for a century and a half following the completion of the *Manyōshū*), and as Chinese literature was more read it was found more convenient to use ready-made compounds denoting new ideas than to translate them into a not very intelligible Japanese. The syntax of Old Japanese is, on the whole, accurate and full of meaning; there are the beginnings of inflexion, a system of post-particles answering to case and number, while position to some extent replaced concord. With an enlarged vocabulary, a somewhat extended use of pronouns, and a more frequent expression of the subject of the sentence, Japanese might have become a vehicle of literary expression not much less inferior to Greek than, in many respects, such a language as French is to the tongue of Homer and Sophocles, though it might never have attained the extreme of personification exemplified in the γέρων γέροντι . . . πίνος and ἀδελφὰ . . . τούτοιςιν . . . θρεπτήρια of the great speech of Polyneices in the *Oedipus Coloneus*. Such, at least, are the conclusions to which a close study of the primitive literature of Japan has led the present writer. Their justification would require a chapter to itself.

Of the three fundamental documents of Japanese history and letters, the oldest, the *Kojiki*, or Ancient Annals, presents an almost prehistoric picture of primitive Japan—confused, in parts repulsive, but not wholly unfaithful in essence; in the *Nihongi*, or Chronicles of Japan, almost of contemporaneous composition, we have the same picture developed and extended, and more or less rationalized, so to say, in accordance with the principles, then of recent introduction, or at least adoption, of Chinese religion, history, and philosophy; while in the *Manyōshū* we possess a precious, and indeed unparalleled, Anthology of verse, wholly Japanese in diction and phrasing, and predominantly so in the themes it deals with, and in the treatment of these—themes taken mainly from the life of the time and its natural environment, and together exhibiting almost the oldest, perhaps the truest, certainly the most pleasing, portraiture extant of the Japanese world in its archaic age.

xxviii INTRODUCTION TO THE MANYÔSHIU

All three documents were compiled within the first sixty years of the eighth century,¹ and while the Anthology, though it contains a few Chinese epistles, poems, and didactic pieces, answers fully to its title, both the Annals and the Chronicles are embellished by *uta* or poems which are mostly single stanzas of five lines only, and are intended to illustrate, in some degree to confirm, the text. Of these *uta* one hundred and eleven are found in the Annals, and one hundred and thirty-two (inclusive of about thirty of those contained in the Annals) in the Chronicles. None of the *uta*, in their present form at least, can be much older than the texts which they embellish, but some of them may be adaptations of more ancient examples. Many of those found in the Annals are of phallic or analogous origin, but in the Chronicles, owing doubtless to the influence of Chinese literary restraint in such matters, there is scarcely a trace of coarseness in word or thought; in the Anthology there is absolutely none, but in the Far East platonism was as little understood then as now, and the theme of love is treated in the *Manyôshiu* from a frankly possessory point of view. Of a *chôka* (*naga-uta*), or long lay, from the Annals, and of one from the Chronicles, translations are appended to those of the lays from the Anthology, followed by a few examples of later mediaeval poetry, inclusive of the epigram of seventeen syllables, which was the final reduction of the long lay to its least expression, as accepted in later mediaeval and Tokugawa days.

Of the *Manyôshiu* and its contents a full account will be

¹ We have no means of determining the significance of the composition of two histories so different in tone and content as the Annals and the Chronicles within a few years of each other. They seem to represent an ultra-conservative and an ultra-progressive mode of thought respectively, and this dualism has remained characteristic of Japan throughout her history. In the eighth century the principles represented by the *Nihongi* were victorious, but the more primitive ideas of the *Kojiki* maintained a more or less dormant existence, and in the nineteenth century regained part of their original supremacy. In the twentieth century Japan exhibits the singular spectacle of a political entity on a level with Western civilization in many respects, while behind the civilization of China in not a few.

found in the following sections of this Introduction. The author of the edition I have used, the *Manyôshiu Kogi*, or Ancient Meaning of the Manyôshiu, describes the Anthology with perfect justice as the ancestor and model of all subsequent Japanese verse, to be admired and revered as the moon in high heaven. Tsurayuki, in his celebrated preface to the *Kokinshiu* (Garner of Verse, old and new), a translation of which is contained in the present volume, eulogizes the Anthology in more extravagant language; and the revivalist writers of the close of the eighteenth century exalt it, together with the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, above all other Japanese literature.

In sober truth, the lays cannot be said to form an addition to the world's poetry. But they are a contribution, and a most interesting one, to its verse. Their imagery is deficient, owing largely to the impersonal character of the Japanese language, reflected in the want of personification in Japanese imagery¹, partly to the insensibility of the Japanese mind (either original or through arrest of development by Chinese influences) to most of the beauty of nature, to all the beauty of the human form, and to nearly all of the charm of human emotion. The Far East is essentially

¹ In Shakespeare's picture of the Egyptian queen—

The barge she sat in, like a burnished throne,
burned on the water; the poop was beaten gold,
purple the sails, and so perfumed that
the winds were love-sick with them . . .

For her own person,
it beggared all description: she did lie
in her pavilion—cloth-of-gold of tissue—;
o'er-picturing that Venus where we see
the fancy outwork nature; on each side her
stood pretty-dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids,
with divers-coloured fans, whose wind did seem
to glow the delicate cheeks which they did cool,
and what they undid did—

there is no personification, save in the epithet 'love-sick', which is rather a blemish than a beauty. With that one exception, the whole passage could be perfectly rendered in pure Japanese. There can be little doubt that personification is often pushed to an extreme in Western literature of all ages and climes.

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lacking in humanism. Of cloud and sea, of light and shade, of leaf and flower, beyond the conventional praise of vernal blossom and autumnal leaf-fall borrowed from China, little note is taken in the Anthology; in the *uta* of the Annals and Chronicles even the beauties of spring and autumn are almost wholly neglected. Nevertheless the Lays have a charm of their own, distinct from that of Chinese poetry, and nearer to that of Western verse than any of the compositions found in the *Shikking*, in the works of the Thang poets, or in the productions of mediæval or Tokugawa Japan. They are full of conventionalisms, but these are usually simple and natural, artless even in their artifice; their imagery, if somewhat monotonous, is not trivial, though it appears so occasionally to a Western critic, based, as it largely must be, upon unfamiliar myth, story, custom, social phase, or habit of thought. Their decoration is extremely ingenious; when fully understood it affords a peculiar pleasure, much of which unfortunately cannot be conveyed in any translation. But the decoration of ancient Japanese verse, some sufficient explanation of which is attempted in one of the following sections, proved the destruction of Japanese poetry, which finally degenerated into metrical exercises of purely verbal ingenuity, often dexterous enough in their way, as may be gathered from the examples following the lays, and from the epigrams contained in this volume, but affording no space or scope for the expression of poetic emotion.

The veneration the Japanese still feel for the *Manyôshiu* may be sufficiently understood from the expressions contained in the two prefatorial letters of which translations are given in the next section of this Introduction. In the first, a member of the noble Sanjô family writes—‘By the *Manyôshiu* men may climb to a knowledge of the learning of the ancient world, and to an understanding of its valiant and noble figures’; in the second, a senator of the former Genro-In declares that the Anthology ‘is the chief ornament of our literature; to read it is to understand the feelings, procure acquaintance with the manners, and know the men and things of that ancient time’.

Kamo Mabuchi (died 1770) had long before written 'all histories, from the *Nihongi* downwards, are full of embellishments to falsehoods, for in fact the truth about matters is hard to get at. But the *Manyôshû* is a real record of the feelings of the men who composed its lays, and throws valuable light upon the period.'

But with the Anthology the production of true poetry ended in Old Japan. The next Anthology, the *Kokinwakashû*, is a collection, almost entirely, of *tanka*; the few *naga-uta* in it are mere echoes of the older poems. In the *saibara*, mimes, we find the metre and the diction of the *naga-uta* but none of their spirit; in the *Nô no utahi*, a mosaic of Buddhist and *manyô* phraseology. Neither Keichû in his compositions, one of which is given in Dr. Aston's *History of Japanese Literature*, nor Motowori in his long *uta* on Mount Yoshino displayed more than the dexterity of a verse-monger well acquainted with the Anthology. In later times poetical composition was largely replaced by 'literary follies' of the kind described in Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*. An example or two may be given. Here is a palindrome:—

<i>na-ga-ki yo no</i>	After a long night's sleep,
<i>to-wo no ne-bu-ri no</i>	how pleasant 'tis to awake,
<i>mi-na me-sa-me</i>	listening to the sound of the
<i>na-mi no-ri fu ne no</i>	boat rocked on the waves of
<i>o-to no yo-ki ka-na!</i>	the sea!

(reading *bu* as the syllabic character *fu* voiced, *o* as *wo*, and *ga* as *ka* voiced).

An acrostic may be added, composed by the Princess Hirohata, who persuaded the Mikado Murakami (947-51) to order a revision of the *Manyôshû*. She gave it to him with some incense, and he requested his concubines to find out the meaning, not apparent on the surface.

Afusaka mo
hate ha yukiki no
seki mo izu
tadzunete tohi ko
kinata kahesazhi.

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The meaning is: 'Not going forth beyond the barrier passed by those who come and go—'tis Afusaka's hill,—place of starting and meeting—if thou inquire for me thou shalt not be refused.' But taking the thick-typed syllables and allowing for *nigori* (voicing), we have *ahase taki mono sukoshi* = 'Just a trifle of mingled perfumes.'

Lastly, I may quote the opening lines of a song officially composed for the use of the soldiers in the recent war, known as a *Sei-Ro-ka* (Chastise-Russian-Song), a *naga-uta*:—

<i>Ten ni kawarite</i>	Representative of Heaven,
<i>ohogimi no</i>	our Emperor
<i>tatakahi norasu</i>	orders the war,
<i>mikotonori</i>	such his high command,
<i>sekai no hate made</i>	to the very ends of the earth
<i>hibikitari</i>	doth it resound ;
<i>shin-jiu tomo ni</i>	the gods too, and mankind
<i>ikidoharu</i>	too,
<i>Roshia utsubeshi</i>	are full of indignation ;
<i>korasubeshi.</i>	struck down must Russia be,
	Russia must be chastised !

To resume. The *Kojiki*, the *Nihongi*, and the *Manyôshiu*, all composed in the eighth century of our era, are the three classics of primitive Japan, and with the story of Take-tori have served as models for all her later literature not Buddhist or Confucianist. They are the earliest extant documents in the language, the only literary sources from which any knowledge of the founders and formation of the Japanese state, and of the modes of life and thought of archaic Japan can be drawn, and the main, if not the sole, founts of the myth and tradition of unsinicized Hinomoto that have come down to the present day. Of the above works the first two have been translated in their entirety by English scholars, and now a version of the major and more important portion of the third is offered by a compatriot.

The long lays (*chôka*) of the *Manyôshiu*, with their envoys (*hanka*), represent something less than two-thirds of the total contents of the Anthology. The remaining third consists

of *tanka*, each of five lines and thirty-one syllables only. These are of minor literary value. Judging from their structure, I am inclined to consider many of them, especially among those that are without *dai* (arguments), as additions made after Yakamochi's day. Be this as it may, their interest lies in the light, though 'tis scanty, they throw upon the Manyô age. To have included them in the present work would have greatly increased its bulk, and tried the reader's patience.

§ II. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANYÔSHIU KOGI

The original edition of the *Manyôshiu Kogi*¹—'The Ancient Meaning of the Manyôshiu'—as published by the Government in 12 Meiji (1879), was an *édition de luxe* in 124 volumes, each averaging 70 Japanese, i. e. 140 of our pages. In paper, wide margins, spacing, and typography no finer production of the Imperial Press is known to me. Of these, ninety-five volumes contain the Lays, with the commentary attached to each, the category (where named), author's name (where given), and the *dai* or argument (where added). The remaining volumes, twenty-nine in number, answer to the eight volumes of the ordinary edition about to be mentioned. The edition I have principally used is a reprint of the *édition de luxe* in thirty-one² closely, but very clearly, printed volumes, containing from 70 to 140 Japanese double pages each (140 to 280 of our pages). The canonical twenty books of the Lays are distributed over twenty-three volumes. The remaining eight volumes contain the *Sôron*, or Prolegomena (1 vol.); the *Chiûshaku mokuroku*, or Contents and Lexicon (1 vol.); the *Jimbutsuden*, or Biographies (1 vol.); the *Himbutsu* or *Buppin* or *Shinamono-kai*, Fauna and Flora of the Anthology (1 vol.); the *Meishokû*, Geography of the Anthology (2 vols.); and the *Makura*

¹ The full title is *Manyôshiu Kogi Chiûshaku* 譯注義古集葉萬, 'The Ancient Meaning of the *Manyôshiu* set forth with commentary.'

² A number corresponding to that of the syllables in a regular *hanka*.

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kotoba Shikai, Glossary of *makura kotoba* or pillow-words (2 vols.).

Much of the matter contained in these last-mentioned eight volumes is also found repeated as commentary in the twenty-three volumes of text.

The work displays immense learning; every extant source of information bearing upon the text and its interpretation has been consulted, and the critical acumen shown in their use is very great. No existing edition can be compared with the *Kogi* in fullness and accuracy. All the important various readings are given, and in nearly every case the selection of the *Kogi* is to be preferred to that of the *Riyakuge*, as well as to the readings adopted by Motowori or Mabuchi. Of the latter two, indeed, the emendations are often of little value; to my mind by far the best of the older commentators is Keichiu. In historical matters the *Kogi*, of course, had no choice but to accept the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* with its continuations. The etymologies are sometimes good, often absurd; scientific philology and archaeology hardly existed in Kamochi's time, and the account given of the fauna and flora is meagre and almost useless. The great aim of the scholars of Old Japan was to decipher and correct texts—a very difficult matter in the case of the *Manyôshiu*, as illustrated by the story related at the end of Section V. The complicated and variously employed script could only be gradually explained by the successive labours of generations of scholars, and the close examination by each scholar, in his turn, of all that his predecessors had done, and of all existing manuscript and printed copies. Keichiu's edition was, no doubt, the first to be printed. Up to the beginning of the seventeenth century hardly any but Buddhist (and some Confucianist) works were published in other than manuscript editions (cf. Sir E. Satow's papers on Early Printing in Japan and Korea, in the volumes of the *T. A. S. J.*). Next to the text in importance come the identification of places and persons, and the biographies of the latter—chiefly concerned with the exact dates at which the various ranks and offices bestowed upon them were conferred—together with

such unravelment of the significance and occasion of a lay, as could be gathered or imagined from extant sources of information, usually of small historical value. I use designedly the phrase 'small historical value', but in most cases it seems clear, from intrinsic evidence, that the significance of any lay must have resembled, or been analogous with, the explanation proposed in the commentary, just as the *Nihongi*, though very far from being trustworthy history, does present a series of events resembling more or less closely the actual course of early Japanese history.

The fault of the *Kogi* is its prolixity and the long-winded style of the commentary. The author appears to have aimed at a more or less archaic style, and often, though his meaning is fairly clear, one has to travel over lengthy sentences to arrive at it.

The subjoined Imperial approval of the *Kogi*, and the two quasi-prefaces that succeed, are prefixed, written in cursive character, to the text in the first volume, following the motto reproduced in the present work on the leaf facing page 1.

'*Meiji jūni nen hachi gwatsu. Ippon Shinnō Taruhito.*'

[In the eighth month (August) of the twelfth year of Meiji (1879). Of the First Order of Rank, a Prince of the Blood, TARUHITO.]

PREFACE BY SANJŌ NISHI SUTOMO

By the *Manyōshū* men may climb to a knowledge of the learning of the ancient world, and to an understanding of its valiant and noble figures. Commentaries on the *Manyōshū* are numerous enough, and their differences often perplex the reader. But here we have a Tosa man, Kamochi Masazumi, who for 'years and months¹' has given his whole mind to the study of the Anthology, and after exhaustive consideration of all sources of information, 'no corner of his subject left unrounded¹', has produced a book full of erudition, which no one can read without admiration of the spirit, language, and manners of that Exalted

¹ Common phrases in the *Manyōshū*.

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Age. Great has been the advance on many paths during the present reign, and unparalleled the development of our modern civilization, but no work of this kind of anything like equal merit has appeared.

The Commentary was brought to His Majesty's notice, who ordered it to be printed; thus, although the true soul of Masazumi has mounted above the clouds, his labour has seen its fulfilment below the skies.

It is by His Majesty's own desire that I write these words on the occasion of the publication of this work. Mean as my capacities are and awkward my style, I have ventured to pen the foregoing sentences.

Summer of 12 Meiji (1879).

Sanjô Nishi Suetomo¹, a Member of the Senior Division of the Second Order of Rank.

PREFACE BY FUKUBA YOSHISHIDZU

The *Manyôshiu* is the chief ornament of our literature. To read it is to understand the feelings, procure acquaintance with the manners, and know the men and things of that ancient time. In the course of ages language and script have changed, and the text has become more and more difficult to understand. Hence commentaries have been written by the score, none of which have been wholly profitless, and now, in this age of ours, has Kamochi Masazumi, a native of Tosa, produced the *Manyôshiu Kogi*, the fullest and best commentary yet published. Up to the day of his death he was occupied with his great task, and so excellently has he accomplished it that the Government has determined to publish the work. Only one complete manuscript copy was known—in the possession of the author's friend², Fukuoka Kôren, a samurai of Kôchi³ Ken. Not even in the house of his heir, Asukahi Masaharu, was a perfect copy of the many volumes of the original found. The task of revision was undertaken by the above-mentioned gentlemen, and the complete work finally handed to the Kunaishô

¹ A relative, probably, of the late Premier Sanjo.

² *mompâ*, lit. 'co-sectary.'

³ In Tosa.

—a hundred volumes having been prepared by Fukuoka, and some twenty others by Asukahi. The supervision of the printing of the work was entrusted to myself, and in the summer of this twelfth year of Meiji the first of these volumes saw the light. In reading the proofs, collation and otherwise, Fukuoka and his pupils have lent their aid, I write this preface in obedience to command and as an introduction to the Commentary.

Eighth month, 12 Meiji (1879). Fukuba Yoshishidzu¹, Senator (former *Genro-In gikwan*), official in the Literary Department of the Ministry of the Imperial Household (*Kunaishô*).

§ III. THE DAIGÔ, OR TITLE, OF THE MANYÔSHIU²

Manyôshiu—written archaically *Man-yefu-shifu*, and doubtless so pronounced (*f* being labial) before and in the eighth century—is written with characters 萬葉集 meaning literally ‘myriad-leaves-collection’. When or by whom the title was given is unknown. It does not appear to be mentioned in any Japanese work earlier than the *Kokinshû*, compiled, and in part composed, by the celebrated Ki no Tsurayaki, who died in 946 A.D. He refers to the Anthology in his well-known preface, of which a translation is given in the present volume. To this reference will be made immediately.

In Chinese, the ‘daigô’ would be read *wan*⁴-*yeh*^{4*}-*chi*^{2*} (Giles)—in Cantonese, *man-yp-tsap*. The *p* in Japanese would become a labial *f*, in which any one of the three sounds *f h w* might become predominant—as in Gaelic ‘fhwat’ for ‘what’. Thus we get *yefu*, *shifu*, sinking into *yewu*, *ye’u*, *yô*, and *shiuru*, *shi’u*, or *shu*. *Man* means a myriad, or myriads, the highest number denoted by a single character in (older) Chinese, hence an undefined great number. *Yô* is ‘leaf’, but also ‘age’ or ‘period’

¹ Afterwards a viscount. He was almost a dwarf, being scarcely over three feet in height.

² This now appears to be the accepted spelling.

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(Giles); part of the character, indeed, but not its primitive, is *shih*, 'age, reign,' &c.

Three interpretations of the title are more or less current. The first, hitherto adopted by all Western scholars, is the literal one—A Collection (*shiu*) of a Myriad Leaves. I can find no warrant for this interpretation in any Japanese work at my disposal. The other two interpretations are, in pure Japanese, (a) *Yorodzu no koto no ha no atsume*; (b) *Yorodzu no yo no atsume*. In English the first is, 'Collection of a Myriad (countless) Leaves of Speech (i. e. words)', the second, 'Collection of a Myriad (countless) Ages'.¹

In the *Kokin* preface above mentioned the opening sentence is, *Yamato uta ha hito no kokoro wo tane to shite yorodzu no koto no ha to zo narikeru*, 'which may be rendered: 'As to the poetry of our country, 'tis the soul of man that it takes as the seed (subject) and develops countless myriads of the leaves of language.'² This is believed to be the earliest instance of the use of the conceit *koto no ha* (in which *ha*, leaf, is connected with *tane*, seed) for *kotoba* (speech or language). In the Anthology the expression is not met with. The Kogi states that from ancient times the title has been read as denoting either 'the heart (spirit or meaning) of myriads of ages' or 'the heart of myriads of words', and that either rendering may be supported. In the preface to a Chinese poetical treatise cited in the *Karabumi Bunsen* (Selections from Chinese Literature) the expression *manyō* is used to denote a myriad (or myriads) of ages. The passage is: 'To dwell in faithfulness to the laws of Heaven, to establish the people to the uttermost, there is nothing nobler than such conduct (on the part of the Prince), God causes such a throne to shine, maintains the reign, affirms the

¹ See also the account given of the Anthology in the *Gunsho ichiran*, an excellent Japanese bibliography in six vols., published in 1801 by Wozaki Masayoshi, who died in 1808. There we read that Sengaku (flourished latter half of thirteenth century) was of the opinion that *yō* should be read *koto no ha*, and that Kitamura Kikin, a later commentator (died 1706), thought it meant *yo*, 'age, generation, reign.'

² We may compare—though the analogy is distant—the 'Talking Oak' of Tennyson, and the rustling of the oak-leaves of Dodona which were interpreted by the Peleïades.

succession, assures its endurance through myriads of ages (*manyô*), and assures justice¹. The date of the quotation appears to be some time between A.D. 384 and 456. Other examples of this use of *manyô* by Chinese authors, among whom it appears to have been common, are given in the Kogi.

In the *Shakumyô* (Explanations of Names [of things]), in relation to verse, the voice of man is likened to the trunk of a tree, whence ramify the branches bearing the foliage. The expression *wan-yeh* (*manyô*), again, is used by Huainan², who recommends scholars to aim at the perfection of a tree with its trunk and leafery. Liu-Yü-si, too, a poet of the eighth century (Mayers' *Chinese Manual*, No. 423), in his Verses on the Winds of Autumn, sings, 'Lo! the hundreds of insects meet in the dusk, and the myriads of leaves murmur under autumn skies.' These and other passages that might be cited from Chinese literature go to support Tsurayuki's use of the expression *koto no ha*, and the rendering of *yô* by *kotoba*. In later anthologies, too, made by sovran command, the words *kinyô*, *gyokuyô*, *shinyô* (golden, precious, fresh *yô*), may be taken to imply the meaning of 'language'. Still, these may all be merely modern uses of the expression. In a rescript of Nimmyô (A.D. 834-50) *manyô* means *yorodzu-yo*, myriads of ages. The Kogi adduces other examples of this employment of *yô* as equivalent to *yô* (age, period), one of which is the title of a collection, *go yô shû*, 'Anthology of Five Reigns (Ages)'. The conclusion of the Kogi is that, notwithstanding current usage, the true meaning of the title *Manyôshû* is not 'A Collection of a Myriad Leaves (of language)', but 'A Collection of All the Ages (i.e. a Anthology)', the ancestor and model of all succeeding verse, 'to be revered as the moon shining in high heaven.' The rendering 'Lays of Ancient Japan' sufficiently answers to a possible—in my belief probable—meaning of the title, and is descriptive of the Anthology itself. Though true odes

¹ From the preface to the *Chhû shui shih* (winding-water poems), by Yenenchih (flourished A.D. 384-456). See Giles, *Biogr. Dict.*, No. 2481.

² Liu An, or Liu Ngan, died B.C. 122, a grandson of the founder of the Han dynasty. See Giles, *Biogr. Dict.*, No. 1239, Mayers, No. 412.

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are found in the Anthology, 'Lays' more fully describe the contents. *Lai* or *laid* was originally, indeed, an ode or song chanted to a sort of rote. It was at a much later date that the term was extended to narrative poems. A few of the 'lays' that follow are really ballads, others are didactic; most refer to some actual and present event, or some story of the past, and as such, illustrating more or less the life of primitive Japan, possess a slightly epic character. Indeed the Anthology may be not unjustly regarded as a discontinuous social epos of Ancient Japan, up to the period, that is, of the permanent establishment of the capital (City-Royal) at Heian, the City of Peace, later Kyôto, in A. D. 794.

§ IV. DATE AND COMPILATION

Tradition alone affords any information as to the date and compilation of the Anthology. A long and learned note on the subject is contained in the Kogi, upon which (together with the notice in the *Gunsho ichiran*) the following brief account is based. According to the *Kokinshûsutsu*, the Mikado Seiwa, some time during the period Jôgwan (859-77), caused inquiry to be made in relation to the date of the Manyôshû. From one Arisuwe, a scribe, the enigmatical answer was obtained that it was an ancient book of the time when the Palace bore the name of the oak-tree (*nara*¹, oak) that sheds its leaves in the *Kaminadzuki*, or 'godless (tenth) month'—when the gods are away at Kidzuki, in Idzumo, settling the affairs of the world². The Nara period, however, extended from A. D. 708 to 782, and the answer of Arisuwe throws little light upon the subject. It would seem that he may have referred to the reign of the Mikado Heizei (806-9), who was known as Nara Tennô, from his resumption, for a short time, of residence at Nara.

¹ The true derivation of Nara is said to be not *nara*, an oak (*Quercus glandulifera*, Bl.), but *nara* (*narashi*) to make level: i. e. prepare the ground for building a royal *miya*. The discredited explanation, however, seems the more probable one.

² Hirata says *name-dzuki* = tasting month or harvest festival. Aston, *Shinto*, p. 145.

In the Chinese preface to the *Shinzoku Kokinshiu* (New Continuation of the *Kokinshiu*, written between 1429 and 1440) it is also stated that the Anthology was prepared in twenty volumes during the reign of Heizei, and by his command. In Tsurayuki's preface to the *Kokinshiu* again, the Nara period is mentioned as that of the compilation, but the figures given point—as the Chinese preface suggests—to the reign of Heizei. A reference to Hitomaro, who died (707) just before the beginning of the Nara age, together with the computation of that age as extending over ten reigns and a hundred years, destroys the value of Tsurayuki's statement.

In the nineteenth book of the *Zoku Nihon goki* (A Continuation of the *Nihongi*) it is related that the Mikado Nimmyô in A.D. 849 visited the monastery of Kyofuku, and was there presented with a congratulatory long lay on attaining his fortieth year, in which the monks complained of the prevailing neglect of Japanese poetry, even among the clergy, as a danger to civilization. The explanation given of this neglect was that from Hôji (A.D. 757-64) the state was in an unsettled condition; from 770 to 781 Japanese poetry was unheeded at the Court owing to the ill example shown by the Mikado himself; from 782 to 806 the neglect continued; and lastly, that during the reign of the Mikado Saga (810-42) Chinese poetry was alone in fashion, even among the ladies of the Court. Under the Mikado Seiwa the study of Japanese, as distinct from Chinese, literature was revived, and the revival continued throughout the period Yengi (901-23), which brings the subject to the days of Tsurayuki and the composition of the *Kokinshiu* (Garner of Japanese Verse, Old and New), the Japanese preface to which was written during the first third of the tenth century.

The earlier of the commentators, as distinct from the mere glossists, Sengaku, in his *Manyôshiu Shô*¹, composed about the middle of the thirteenth century, was of opinion that the compilation of the Anthology was begun by the Sadaijin Tachibana no Mōroye, and completed by the Chiunagon, Ohotomo no Sukune Yaka-

¹ Notes upon the *Manyôshiu*.

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mochi. The celebrated Okabe (Kamo Mabuchi) quotes from the *Yotsugi Monogatari* to the effect that under the Takano Mikado (the Queen-Regnant Kôken, 749-58) Môroye was commanded to prepare an Anthology with the assistance of the *kyô* (ministers) and *shin* (higher officials). But Môroye died in 1 Hôji (757), and could not therefore have compiled the Anthology in its present state, since it contains lays of a later date.

The priest Keichiu (died 1701), whose work, the *Manyô daishôki*, together with that of his contemporary, Kitamura Kikin, the *Manyô Shiusui Shô*, forms the foundation of all modern learning on the subject, thought that the Anthology was the work of Yakamochi alone, and that it was not compiled by command of the Sovran. The proofs adduced in support of this latter contention also go to prove the authorship of Yakamochi, particularly the description of Yakamochi's own lays as 'mean' (*tsutanai*) and the language of his references to his father. His own name, too, he always gives in full. In the commentary on the short lay in Book xix, beginning *Shirayuki no*, an alteration in the text is stated to have been made by the Sadaijin—no doubt Môroye. This reference brings up the question of Môroye's part-authorship. Okabe speaks of an old arrangement, of which the first six books are identical with Books i, ii, xiii, xi, xii, xiv respectively of the modern editions, and it is not impossible that all of these books were compiled by Môroye (or, more probably, the first two only), and that the others were the work of Yakamochi. The last lay in Book xx is dated 3 Tempyo Hôji (Feb. 2, 759), and Yakamochi died in 785. There was, therefore, time for him to have effected a complete arrangement of the Anthology according to subjects and dates, but this was not done except in the case of Books i-ii, which may have been arranged by Môroye. The work was left in an incomplete state, and the explanation of this fact may be the neglect of Japanese learning, which, as just shown, began shortly after the middle of the eighth century. A revival of Japanese learning took place in the reign of Seiwa (859-76), and attained fuller development about the

time of the composition of the Japanese preface to the *Kokinshiu* in or about 922, but did not persist long after the latter date.

§ V. ORDER OF BOOKS, GLOSSES, EDITIONS

The *Manyôshiu* has always been arranged in twenty books. Okabe, as already mentioned, thought he could discover in the Lays themselves traces of a different arrangement from the present one, but the Kogi, admitting some plausibility in the theory, declares it to be unsupported by any extrinsic evidence. The correspondence of the first six books of the supposed arrangement with the existing order has been set forth above, that of the remaining fourteen may be thus presented, the numbers in brackets representing the modern order—vii (x), viii (vii), ix (v), x (ix), xi (xv), xii (viii), xiii (iv), xiv (iii), xv (vi); xvi, xvii, xviii, xix, and xx are identical in both arrangements. These fourteen books contain lays taken from various collections, including many of Yakamochi's own composition, and were regarded by Okabe as additions to the original *Manyôshiu*. There is no doubt something to be said for this theory; at all events the present sequence (except of the first two volumes) is very irregular, chronologically and categorically: Books i, ii, iii, x, xi, xii, xv, xix, and xx are each divided into three parts—upper, middle, and lower; the remainder into upper and lower parts only.

All the lays are written in the Chinese character, used after a very peculiar fashion explained in the volume of Texts. Here it must suffice to say they are sometimes read phonetically, *japonicé* or *japano-sinicé*, sometimes they must be translated into Japanese, sometimes they must be puzzled out as rebus-like combinations—thus the character read *japonicé* as *kamo*, a wild-duck, is constantly used to signify the two exclamatory particles *ka ma*, 'must it be so?'—an exclamation of mingled doubt and entreaty or hope.

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In most, but not all, of the books, a *dai* or argument, written in pure Chinese, is prefixed to each lay, stating very briefly its authorship, occasion, or subject, and date, or one or two only of these particulars. There are often also postscripts added, and now and then notes within the text, the latter usually by Yakamochi, the former by Yakamochi or Sengaku, or other early commentator. Originally the Chinese script alone was given. As time went on the true reading became more and more difficult, and after Kūkai (A.D. 774-834) had invented the syllabaries (if he did so), additions were made to indicate inflexional terminations and grammatical particles; finally, to the right of the column of characters was appended a full *kana* (syllabic) transliteration into pure Japanese. These glosses are known as *kunten*, and are distinguished as ancient, intermediary, and new. The ancient *kunten* was the work of Minamoto Shitagafu and four others, known as the *nashitsubo* (Pear-tub Chamber) committee,¹ who undertook the task by command of the Mikado Murakami, at the instance of the Princess Hirohata, some time in the period Tenryaku (A. D. 947-57).

The intermediary *kunten* was prepared by Ohoye Sukekuni (eleventh century) and five assistants.

The new *kunten* was a result of Sengaku's scholarship (thirteenth century), and was more in the nature of a commentary than a mere gloss, as were most subsequent works on the *Manyôshiu*. His work, the *Manyôshiu Shô*, is alone extant of the three *ten*, and is described in the *Gunshô Ichiran*, vol. iv, p. 5, v. It does not appear (so far as I know) that Sengaku added the *kana* transliteration, nor is there any certainty as to when or by whom this transliteration was first effected.

Since the time of Sengaku the principal editions have been the *Daishôki* of the Naniha priest Keichiu (died 1701), the *Manyô jiuishô* of Kitamura 'Kikin' (died 1706), the *Rôjakuge* (Brief Commentary) of Tachibana (or Kato) Chikage (died 1808), and the *Kogi*, on which this partial

¹ See note, p. xlv.

presentation of the Anthology is founded. Of the last named and its author a full account is given in the last section of this Introduction.

The Pear-tub Hall, known also as *shôyôsha* (Pright Hall) was one of the Six (or Five?) *sha* or pavilions of the Inner Palace of mediaeval times. [The name probably imports a pear-tree of some kind (*kaidô*, perhaps *Pyrus spectabilis*) growing in a tub by the *sha*. On either side of the row of *sha* were rows of *den* or larger pavilions. Every *sha* had its name—*kiri* (Paulownia), *ume* (plum), *fuji* (Wistaria), and one was known as the *kaminari sha*, because here was posted the Thunder-guard (*kaminari* = Divine-roar), whose duty it was to be in readiness to look to the defence of the Palace when more than three peals of thunder reverberated in succession.] Shitagafu and his committee were busy with their task every day during A.D. 952. The following pleasant story is told of him. In executing their task the committee came upon the following *tanka* :—

<i>Shiranami no</i>	what years uncounted
<i>hamamatsu ga ye no</i>	those pious offerings countless
<i>tamuke-gusa</i>	on yonder pine hung
<i>iku yo made ni ka</i>	the surfy shore o'ershadowing,
<i>toshi mo henuramu !</i>	have men on yonder pine hung !

The verse will be found in the middle part of Book i. It is attributed to Prince Kahashima—by some to Omi Okura. The occasion was a Royal Progress to Kii of the Queen-Regnant Jitô, mentioned in the *Nihongi* under the 13th day of the 9th month of the 4th year of her reign (N. ii. 399). *Shiranamino* is an epithet (m. k.) of *hama* [*matsu*], which here means shore-pine; *gusa* here means 'kinds'. The version (as to the last line) is conjectural. The committee were sorely puzzled by the characters 'stone-two' in the script of the fourth verse. Shitagafu accordingly journeyed to Ishiyama and prayed to Kwannon for help, but though he prayed for seven days and nights no help came. Exhausted and disappointed he began his journey back to his house in City-Royal, and on the way stopped at an inn at Ohotsu. Early the next morning he heard a traveller, getting ready for departure from a neighbouring house, say to a servant, as the baggage was being secured on the packhorse, 'Stop a bit' (*mate*, wait), when the word desired, *mate* or *made* (until), flashed upon his mind.

§ VI. METRE, FORM, AND NUMBER OF LAYS. THE *DAI*, OR ARGUMENTS

In Japanese, as in Chinese verse, there is, strictly speaking, no metre, for there are no distinct feet. The line

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consists of so many syllables, in Japanese all open, and all simple, for there are no diphthongs. A sort of rhythm, however, does exist, but is difficult of definition. Modern verse is usually read or recited in a monotonous high-pitched falsetto, very unpleasing to a Western ear. There is little emphasis, and that not concerned, apparently, with the sense. The lays of the *Manyôshiu* were doubtless recited, or sung or chanted, after a similar fashion, and there was a more or less regular sequence of slight arsis and thesis. There was a total absence of rhyme or assonance in any form, but word-jingles of a peculiar kind were not uncommon. These will be noticed in a later section.

Almost all the lays consist of alternate pentasyllabic and heptasyllabic lines, beginning with a pentasyllabic, and ending with two heptasyllabic lines, thus resembling the contemporary Thang poetry, except that in the latter the verses were not alternating, but all pentasyllabic or all heptasyllabic save in irregular pieces. There were no long or short syllables in Old Japanese, every syllable was pronounced much in the same time, between the time of a long and short syllable in Greek or Latin. There was scarcely any vocabular or phrasal ictus or even tone. The recital of Japanese verse was and is rather an enunciation (*yomi*) of syllables than of words or sentences.

The general character of the language is iambic rather than trochaic (to my ear), or, more accurately, between those qualities, but there does often seem to exist a slight ictus on the first syllable of a line, chiefly where that begins a phrase. French verse read with some deliberation more resembles the Japanese line than any classical or Germanic form. In English, ictus is unavoidable, but the iambic measure I have chosen for the translations, which correspond exactly (with some exceptions) to the text in the number of syllables, appears to me closer to the original than the more *staccato* form of such poems as *Hiawatha* or *Der Trompeter von Säckingen*.

In classical parlance the metric scheme of the Japanese *uta* would be, essentially, an approach to an alternation

of catalectic iambic monometers and dimeters, with the first iambus of the dipody more often spondaic. There was, or may have been, an indistinct caesura at the end of the third syllable in the pentasyllabic, and of the fourth on the heptasyllabic line.

Elision is found, but is not common, neither is hiatus; *enjambement* is, on the other hand, usual. The line is sometimes incomplete, sometimes redundant; in what seem to be the earlier lays irregularities are most common.

The *uta* closes with a couplet of heptasyllabics, sometimes with a triplet. In the Anthology there are three forms of *uta*. The *chōka* (*naga-uta*) or long lay consists of alternating monometers and dimeters ending with two dimeters. The number of lines varies from seven or nine to a hundred or more. Lay 24 has a hundred and fifty lines, the longest Old Japanese poem known to me. The *tanka* (*mizhika-uta*) or short lay is a *waka* (Japanese verse) of only five lines containing thirty-one syllables, and opens with two monometers separated by a dimeter, to end with a couplet of dimeters, all of course catalectic. It is a tercet followed by a couplet.

Many of the *tanka* are 'envoys' to the *chōka*; in that case they are sometimes designated *hanka* (*kareshi-uta*), answer-lays. Not seldom, several *hanka* follow a *chōka*, of which they are mostly echoes, occasionally postscripts. A third form of *uta* is the *sentō* or *sedōka*, which has thirty-six syllables arranged in six lines. It is a *tanka* with a second dimeter following the first, so that it consists of two symmetrical moieties, each a tercet, of which the latter generally echoes some portion of the former. There is in most *tanka* a pause in structure and sense at the end of the third line, and in all *uta* the final couplet (or triplet) states the moral or resumes the theme or *kuse* (intention) of the whole.

The number of lays varies in the different editions. In the Kogi, which contains more than any other edition, there are 4,496, of which 4,173 are *tanka* (inclusive of those appended to *chōka*), 262 are *chōka*, and 61 are *sedōka*. In the present volumes will be found all the *chōka*, with those

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of the *tanka* appended to them that appeared worth translating.

As to the *Dai* or Arguments prefixed to the lays, these were probably written by Yakamochi or some slightly later compiler. They are in pure Chinese (of a kind), but whether they ought to be read in pure Japanese or as *mana* or *kana mazhiri* is not very certain. Kamochi, who was a strong Shintōist (the early years of the nineteenth century continued the rather unequal Shintō revivalism of the eighteenth, in opposition to the Buddho-Confucianism of the Tokugawa period), declares that it is quite an 'enormous error' not to read them as pure Japanese; but there is a great deal of pure Chinese in the *Manyôshiu* that must have been read as such, and it is most probable that the *dai* were read, as texts of that kind at a later period are known to have been read, as mixed Japano-Chinese and Japanese. Many Chinese expressions, however, were probably read out of respect in Japanese—such as *gyo-u* (reigned), which in archaic Japanese would be translated *amenoshita shiroshimeshishi*. In the present work (vol. of Texts) for several reasons the *dai* are transliterated into archaic Japanese in accordance with the *kana* gloss.

The address-title *kyô*, 卿, or *mahetsukimi* (Minister—it might be rendered 'Excellency'), common in the *dai*, is added to the office and family name of men of the third rank who are not yet *Dainagon*, and even sometimes to designations of men not of the third rank for special reasons, or as a mark of respect.

Kyô may also be used with office and family name, or with family name only, or with family and personal name, or with office only.

Na, or personal names, are not mentioned in the *dai* in two cases: one, where the personage is a *dainagon*, or of higher office; the other where it was thought desirable for any reason, or respectful, not to mention them, even when names of personages of lower office than that of *dainagon*. Sometimes the *na* are abbreviated or imperfectly written, as in cases of doubt or where office and family name sufficed.

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§ VII. CONTENTS OF THE BOOKS OF THE MANYÔSHIU

The lays are arranged, but not completely, or in all the books, under six categories, in imitation, perhaps, of a similar but not identical arrangement of the contents of the Book of Odes (*Shih King*). The Chinese arrangement is given in Mayers' *Manual* (p. 325) as the Three Divisions and the Three Styles—(1) Ballads, (2) Eulogies, (3) Homage Odes, (4) Allusive, (5) Metaphorical, and (6) Descriptive. The Japanese arrangement is—(1) *Kuságusa* or unclassified lays; (2) *Sômon* or *Shitâshimi*, lays of the affections, love, friendship, &c.; (3) *Banka* or *Kanâshimi*, lays of sorrow, death, parting, absence, &c.; (4) *Tatohe*, illustrative or exemplary lays; (5) *Shiki*, lays of the four seasons; (6) *Shiki sômon*, affection-lays of the four seasons.¹

Examples of *Shitâshimi* are lays 16, 17, 54-6, 116-20, 145-74; of *Kanâshimi*, lays 18-30, 46, 47, 55, 70, 89, 90, 116, 121-5, 183-97; of *shiki*, lays 97, 99; of *Shiki sômon*, 100-3, 126-8. There are only two *tatohe* long lays, lays 176 and 182. Some lays are of a special character, 67, 79, 203; a few are märchen or ballads, 105, 122, 125; some are dialogal, 67, 174; two are of a fabular character, 210, 211; while a certain number are local, Noto, 207-9; and *âdzuma* (Eastland) lays like those of the Fourteenth Book; others, lastly, are didactic, 62, 63, 64 and 69.

Of the twenty books of the *Manyôshiu* the contents may now be briefly set forth.

The First Book (or *maki-roll*) is divided into three parts, upper (*kami*), middle (*naka*), and lower (*shimo*).

The upper part consists entirely of *kuságusa* (unclassified) lays, and contains the long lays numbered 1-7 in the present volume. The middle part also contains none but *kuságusa*

¹ This categorical arrangement, being irregular and incomplete, is not reproduced in the present volume. It may suffice to give here the numbers of the long lays under each category:—*Kuságusa*, 1-15, 18-44, 60 A-97, 104, 115, 129, 144, 203, 211; *Shitâshimi*, 16, 17, 54-60; 116-20, 145-74; *Kanâshimi*, 18-31, 45-53, 121-5, 183-97, 198, 200-2; *Tatohe*, 182, 176. *Tôhi-kotahe* (sort of love-lays), 175-81; *Shiki* (Spring) 98-100, (Summer) 126, 181, (Autumn) 102, 127, 128, 103. Lays 203-64 are uncategorized.

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lays, among them the long lays 8-12. Lay 9 is the earliest of the Hitômaro lays. The lower part is also *kusâgusa*, and in it are found lays 13-15. There are sixty-seven *tanka* in the book, mostly of an occasional character, inclusive of the *hanka* or envoys to the long lays. The best of the long lays are 1, 2, 3, 6, and those by Hitômaro, 9-12, while lay 13 affords an interesting glimpse of the period. In this book the lays attributed to the Sovran are distinguished by the highly honorific phrase *mi yomimaseru ohomi uta* 'the exalted lay that His Majesty hath deigned to [cause to be] comp[os]e[d]'. Analogous phrases in descending order of dignity are *mi yomimaseru mi uta*, *yomimaseru mi uta*, *yomitamaheru uta*, down to *yomeru uta*, which is simply 'composed by'.

The dates of the lays range from the Hâtsume Asâkura age (A.D. 475) to the beginning of the Nara age (708-82). The last lay in the book is attributed to Naga no miko, who died in 1 Reiki (715). The principal authors are the Princess (*ohokimi*) Nukata and Hitômaro.

The Second Book is likewise divided into three parts. The upper part consists wholly of *shitâshimi* lays, and contains the long lays 16, 17. The middle part consists of *kanâshimi* lays, containing the long-lays 18-24. In the lower part, again, all the lays are *kanâshimi*, including the long lays 25-31. The more remarkable of the lays in this book are 13, 20, 22, 24, 27, and 28. Lays 16, 22, 24, 27, and 28 are by Hitômaro. Lay 24 is the most sustained effort in Old Japanese poetry known to me, and the only one of a distinctly martial character. After lay 30 follow several *tankû* on the death of Hitômaro himself. The dates of the *shitâshimi* lays range from the Nâniha Takatsu age to that of Fujiwara; of the *kanâshimi* lays from the later Wokamoto period to that of Nara—generally from the reign of Nintoku (313-99) to the Wadô period (708-21) within the Nara age. In both the above two books—and in these alone among the twenty—the arrangement of the lays is complete as to authorship, chronology, and category. The oldest lays in the Anthology are said to be the last three of the first four lays in the present book.

The first is by Suwe no kami Oho Irátsume :—

<i>Kimi ga yuki</i>	The going forth of my lord !
<i>ke nagaki narinu</i>	long is the time that hath
<i>'yama tadzune</i>	gone by—
<i>mukahe kayukamu</i>	amid the wild hills search-
<i>machi ni ka matamu.</i>	ing
	shall I go forth to meet him,
	waiting, shall I wait for him !

That is, she would not wait idly for the return of her lover (Prince Karu) ; she must go after him, even across the hills (to Iyo where he has been banished). The *tankû* is also found in the Kojiki, where the story is given (K. lxxxvii, but compare N. I. 324). In the Kojiki *yamatadzune* is read *yamatadzuno*, a *makura kotoba* of which it is impossible to make sense. The date would be about 435. The story is that of the incest of the Princess with her uterine brother Prince Karu. The other three lays are attributed to the Queen-Consort Ihanohime, who may have composed them on her desertion by the Mikado Nintoku for the girl Yata. She was his sister by the father's side (N. I. 278). In 347 she died, and the next year Yata occupied her place.

The first of the three *uta* is subjoined :—

<i>Kaku bakari</i>	And now thus is it—
<i>kohitsutsu arazu ha.</i>	should his love for me fail,
<i>takayama no</i>	on the high hills (or on
<i>ihane shi makite</i>	Takayama)
or (<i>iha neshi makite</i>)	fain ^{ly} would I seek stone
<i>shinamashi mono wo !</i>	pillow
	and lay me down and die
	there !

The Third Book is divided into three parts. The upper part contains none but *kuságusa* lays, including the long lays 32–9. The range of dates is from Jitô (690–702) to Shômu (724–56), but the chronology is irregular.

The middle part comprises likewise none but *kuságusa* lays, including the long lays 40–4.

The lower part consists of *tatohe* lays, among which are no long lays, but certain lays addressed by Kasa no Irá-

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tsume to Yakamochi ¹, while yet a *toneri* (palace servant or page) and *kanâshimi* lays, including an elegy by Shôtoku Daishi ² and the long lays 45-53. The dates range from 4 Wadô (712) to 16 Tempyô (745).

The chronology is irregular, but the authorship is stated. The Kogi believes that the third and fourth books should stand in reversed order. The more remarkable lays are 23 (Kimitafi), 36 (the first by Akâhito), 37 (the first by Kanamura), 44, 47, 49 (by Sakanohe no Irátsume), 50 (by Yakamochi on the death of his wife), and 53 (by Takahashi, an elegy on his wife).

The Fourth Book is divided into two parts, upper and lower. It contains none but *shitâshimi* lays, including the long lays 54-70, the last being found in the lower part. The dates range from Nintoku (313-99) to Shômu (724-48). The more remarkable lays are 56, 59 (Sakanohe), and 60 (Sakanohe's mother).

The Fifth Book, in two parts, contains *kusâgusa* lays, including the long lays 61-70. The arrangement is confused, the dates range from 1 Jinki (724) to 6 Tempyô (734). Various notes, prefaces, and postscripts in Chinese are intermixed with the lays. There is also a Chinese lay (numbered 60 A). The book opens with the answer of Ohotomo no kyô—commander of the Tsukushi frontier garrison—to the envoys sent to condole with him on the death of his wife, preceded by 60 A and a series of Buddhist reflections in Chinese. The remaining lays are mainly taken from the Okura Collection; some of them relate to a mission to China. The more remarkable lays are 62, 63, 64, and 69, all of a moral or didactic character and purely

¹ This is the first mention of Yakamochi in the *Manyôshiu*. A little further on is the first *tanka* by Yakamochi, addressed to Sakanohe no Ihe no Oho-Irátsume, wife of Ohotomo no Sukune Sukunamaro, and daughter of Sakanohe no Irátsume.

² Or Uhenomiya no Miko. The purport of the *tanka* is—To die in one's own home with my hand in thine, dearest [were no hardship]; but to die on a journey amid the bushy hills, 'tis piteous indeed! Shôtoku Taishi (heir-apparent), the 'Constantine of Japanese Buddhism', was Regent, but never Mikado (Prof. Chamberlain). He flourished 572-621 (N. II. 95).

Chinese in thought and treatment. Lay 67 is a bitter complaint against oppression and poverty, the only one known to me in Japanese poetical literature; and 70 is an elegy on the death of the poet's son, Furuhi.

The Sixth Book (in two parts) contains none but *kusá-gusa* lays, comprising the long lays 71-97. The dates, which are fairly sequent, range from 7 Yôrô, (723) to 16 Tempyô (744). The more remarkable lays are 79, 81, 84, 89, 90, and 92. The principal names are, Kanámura, Aká-hito, Sakanohe, Okura, and Yakamochi.

The Seventh Book (two parts) contains no long lays. All the *tanka*, with the exception of thirteen at the end, which are *kanáshimi*, are *kuságusa*. Of many the dates and authors are not given. In the older editions there was a journey-lay at the end, but in the Koji this is placed among the *kuságusa*. The book opens with a *tanka* on the heavens, in which Hitómaro likens the sky to the ocean, the clouds to the waves, the constellations to forests, and the crescent-moon to a boat sailing through the scene. A number of lays follow—on the moon, on clouds, on rains, on 'mountains, hills, and rivers' (landscapes), on foliage, moss, birds, homeland, wells, and the Japanese *koto* (flat harp). Then come *tanka* made in Yoshinu, Yamashiro, and many in Settsu. Most, if not all, of the above seem to have been taken by Yakamochi from Anthologies (M.S. collections) not now extant. In the second part are found dialogal lays and *tanka* on birds and fishermen, (from old collections). Other subjects are travelling-dress, bows, gems, trees, plants, rice, flowers, quadrupeds, the seashore, seaweed, boats, thunder, gods, buried logs¹, &c. Many are taken from

¹ Buried log—here in river-bed, &c.—at a later period, fossil wood. The *tanka* is a singularly good instance of the poetic dexterity of the ancient Japanese, and of the wealth of meaning that can be crowded into a single stanza—as Dr. Florenz has well remarked in his valuable *Geschichte der Japanischen Litteratur*—

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 <i>Makanamochi</i> | 5 That there be not |
| 2 <i>Yuge no kahara no</i> | 4 the likelihood of non-appearance |
| 3 <i>umoregi no</i> | 3 as of a log buried |
| 4 <i>araharumazhiki</i> | 2 under the sands of the river of |
| 5 <i>koto to aranaku ni—</i> | the smooth'd bow, |
| | 1 the well-planed bow. |

the Hitômaro Collection, not now extant. Most of the lays may probably be ascribed to the first half of the eighth century.

The Eighth Book (in two parts) consists mostly of *kusâgusa* and *shitâshimi tanka*, arranged in proper succession as *shiki* (lays of the four seasons) and *shiki sômon* (*shitâshimi* lays of the four seasons). The long lays 98, 103, are also found in this book. The more remarkable of them are lays 101 and 103 (by Yakamochi), and 102, on Tanabata night (by Okura). Many of the *tanka* are interchanged between Yakamochi and his wife Sakanohe. No dates are given, but the range was from some time within the latter half of the seventh century to a period within the first half of the eighth century.

The Ninth Book in the upper part contains *kusâgusa* lays, in the lower part *shitâshimi* lays, among which are found the long lays 104-25. Many are taken from the Hitômaro Collection, others from the Mushimaro Collection, some from the Ohoura, Tanobè, Sakimaro, and Kanamura Collections. The more remarkable lays are 105 (the Ballad of Urâshima), 110, 111, 113 (change-singing on Mount Tsukuba), 119 (a mother's farewell), 120 (a love-lay), 122 and 125 (on the story of the Damsel of Unahi). The principal names are Okura, Kanamura, and the Princess (*ohokimi*) Nukata.

The Tenth Book (in three parts) contains lays arranged as *kusâgusa* and *shitâshimi* of the four seasons. They seem to be all taken from the Hitômaro Collection, and among them are the long lays 126-8, of which the latter two (on Tanabata) are the best. There are no dates, but they must belong to the latter half of the seventh century; nor are the names of authors given.

The Eleventh Book (in three parts) contains no long lays.

The lines (text) 1, 2, 3 form a m. k. of 4. Line 1 is a m. k. of *Yu [mi] ge [dzura]*, the name of a river—by a word-play equivalent to *εὐχέτορος* (with the *ma* of 1). Line 5 suggests, with the aid of two negatives 4 and 5 (*aranaku*), that the damsel's meeting with her lover will not be so uncertain as the refloating of a log brought down the river when low, and buried under the sand and soil rolled down in flood, i. e. 'that it will come about.'

The *tanka* are older and later *shitâshimi*, dialogal, occasional (*tada omohi*), and *tatohe* lays, without authors' names. Most are taken from the Hitômaro Collection. A few *senjo* (*sedô*) lays are found in this book. The older lays date from the Middle (Kahara) Asuka age to the (Kiyomihara) Asuka age (670-686 *circiter*); the later from the Fujihara age to that of Nara, 700-708 and later). Their arrangement in the Kogi edition differs somewhat from that found in the older books.

The Twelfth Book (in three parts) has no long lays. There are dialogal, road, and *kusâgusa tanka*, some of which are taken from the Hitômaro Collection. There are neither dates nor authors' names.

The Thirteenth Book (in two parts) contains many long lays, 129-97, among the oldest and best in the Anthology. Lay 183 is the only one of any length. All the lays are anonymous and undated. There are *kusâgusa*, *shitâshimi mondo* (dialogal), *tatohe*, and *kanâshimi* lays, with a few *sedôka*. Among the more remarkable are 131, 136, 140, 146, 151, 168, 178, 182 (a *tatohe* lay), 183, 190, and 197.

The Fourteenth Book (in two parts) contains no long lays. The lays are all *âdzuma* (Eastland), arranged, according to provinces, as *kusâgusa* and *shitâshimi*. The book closes with a few dialogal and garrison or march-men (*sakimori*) lays.

The Fifteenth Book (in three parts) rather resembles the Fifth Book in the nature of its contents. It comprises, with many *tanka*, the long lays 198-202. Many of the lays, older and later, deal with a mission to Korea in 8 Tempyô (736); of the remainder most are lays interchanged between an exiled courtier and his mistress.

The Sixteenth Book (in two parts) contains the long lays 203-11, with many *tanka*. The subjects of the lays are, among others, the stories of the Princess, Sâkura and the Princess Kâdzura, and the story of the Sage and the Nine Foolish Virgins (203), with a long Chinese preface and nine versified apologies from the virgins. No dates are given, but often the authors' names are added in postscripts.

The remaining four books (17, 18, 19, 20) contain lays

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collected or composed by Yakamochi, interspersed with poems, notes, and letters in Chinese. The dates are given but the lays are not arranged in categories.

The Seventeenth Book (in two parts) contains the long lays 212-25. The dates range from 2 Tempyô (730) to 20 Tempyô (748). From the 11th month 2 Tempyô (Dec., 730—Jan., 731) to the 5th day of the 4th month 16 Tempyô (June 19, 744), the lays, irregularly arranged, are such as were omitted by Yakamochi from the preceding sixteen books. The lays of 13 Tempyô (741) are followed by lays of 744. The next date is 7th month 18 Tempyô (July-Aug., 746), when Yakamochi went to Etchû as Governor (*Kami*). From the last date to 20 Tempyô (748) the arrangement is as 'regular as that of a diary'.

The Eighteenth Book (in two parts) contains the long lays 226-35. The dates range from 2 Tempyô (730) to the second month of 2 Shôhō (March-Apr., 750); collected by Yakamochi while Governor of Etchû. Older lays, not before known to Yakamochi, are here found, together with new ones composed by visitors (officials) from City-Royal, with names attached.

The Nineteenth Book (in three parts) contains the long lays 236-57. The dates range from 2 Shôkô (750) to the 8th month of 3 Shôkô (Aug.-Sept., 751), then—after the return of Yakamochi to City-Royal—to the 2nd month of 5 Shôhō (March-Apr., 753).

The Twentieth Book (in three parts) contains the long lays 258-63. The dates range from 5 Shôhō (753) to the 7th month of 2 Hôji (August-Sept., 758), while Yakamochi was Governor of Iuaba. On New Year's Day of 3 Hôji (Feb. 2, 759) he recited his last *tanka* at a congratulatory banquet, in which he expressed the hope that the prosperity of the land would increase as the falling snow on that day was increasing.

Many Eastland lays are found in this book, but they are not arranged in any order.

An interesting feature of the last four books is the poetical and Chinese correspondence of Yakamochi and his friend Ikenushi, a secretary of the adjoining province of Echizen.

§ VIII. YAMATO AND ÁDZUMA LAYS

A further division was established of these ancient lays into Yamato and Ádzuma Lays—in other words, into Court and Eastland verse. Eastland verse, however, shows but few dialectal differences from the language of City-Royal; it was rather the comparatively unpolished strains, offensive to Court taste, of officials employed in, and probably natives of, the remote Eastern and Northern Provinces. The Michinoku lays, even, merely differ from those of the Court in a certain lack they exhibit of decorative dexterity. Yet up to quite a late period in early Japan a great part of Michinoku—most of the tract, indeed, north of Sendai—was chiefly populated by *Nigi-Ainu*¹. The signification of *adzuma* is unknown. The fanciful derivation *a[ga]dzuma*, ‘Oh my wife!’ the cry of Yamatotake as he looked back from the barrier hills on his way to the Eastland, regretting his parting from the Princess Ototachibana (Famous-orange-tree), is fanciful and nothing more. The story will be found in N. I. 207.

As to Yamato lays, the import of the name Yamato, there can be little doubt, is concerned with tracks or passages through a wild hilly country, the province of Yamato being surrounded by hills. These were Court lays. The story of the ideographic representation of Yamato is interesting. The original character was 倭 (*wo* or *wa*), which is merely a contraction of 矮 (short) and 人 or 人 (man), and means a dwarf or pigmy. In the later Han history we read that in the first century A.D. a country called Ito sent an envoy to the Chinese emperor, who gave him a gold seal. This seal was discovered in the eighteenth century, and is said to be still preserved. On it are characters meaning ‘dwarf-slave’, as epithetical of the envoy’s own land, Japan. He may have come from Ito in Chikuzen, where, at that time, the authority of the Yamato Sovran was scarcely established. The name Ito

¹ Partly civilized. See N. II. 261.

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was later written with characters meaning the 'harmonious place'. So when Japanese writers began to entertain a higher sense of their country's worth they changed 倭 (*wai* or *wa*) to 和 (*wa*), which means 'peace' or 'harmony'. *Wai* easily becomes *wa*, even in Chinese; thus Wai-Kwoh, or Kwok, the old Chinese disrespectful name for Japan, was heard as Wak-Wak (i. e. Wa-Kwak) by the Arab mediaeval navigators to the Far East.

§ IX. ANTIQUITY OF THE LAYS

The lays comprised in the *Manyôshiu*, in date of composition range over a period of some 400 years. The earliest would appear to be the three lays attributed to Iwanohime, which open the Second Book, and these may have been composed about A.D. 347 (but see the note in the Kogi); and the latest is Yakamochi's concluding *tanka* in the Twentieth Book, written in 759. But lay 178 is, or may be, either a much older lay or a *rifacimento* of a much older one, for it is identical with a lay in the Kojiki ascribed to the age of the gods—that is, to a period earlier than B.C. 660. It may very well be doubted, however, as already mentioned, whether any of the Manyôshiu lays, *as we have them*, date more than a century or two beyond the period of its compilation. The preservation in an unwritten form of a number of short and disconnected lays, many of them of a personal nature, others didactic or lyrical, through any considerable tract of time is unlikely. The regularity of metre and form displayed by nearly all the lays, too (as well as their identity of diction and phrase), is against their antiquity. Of the 111 lays of the Kojiki, eighty-four lie within the period (up to A.D. 400) of which the history, according to Professor Chamberlain, is undeserving of credence (K. p. 368). Of these lays, too, and of the 132 lays of the Nihongi, the earlier examples differ scarcely at all from the later, although represented as separated in time by more than a thousand years, in metre and form, and not much in diction and phrasing. The Nihongi and Manyô lays are, however, free from the gross-

nesses of the Kojiki lays, as might be expected in works composed more or less within the view, at least, of Chinese models. Lastly, about half the Kojiki lays are *tanka*, and it is scarcely credible that these highly artificial productions should have an antiquity much greater than that of the Anthology itself. On the whole, then, I believe that though the lays in the present volume may be in some measure echoes, or remodellings in certain cases, of more ancient pieces, none of them are in their present state much older than the seventh century. I am disposed to say the same of the Kojiki and Nihongi lays, the *differentiae* of which may be largely due to their having been selected with less discrimination and under more purely Japanese influences than those of the Anthology, compiled nearly half a century later. It seems even probable that the memory feats of Hiyeda no Are (K. Introduction) were confined to the lays of the Kojiki, and that in some cases the text of the Annals was written up to the lays, and in others old lays were more or less remodelled to suit and illustrate the text.

§ X. RANKS AND NAMES

The Kogi displays a good deal of erudition in relation to the designation of the Sovran. The earliest name (K. App. xxviii, age of Keiko, 71-130) seems to have been simply *ohokimi*—Great Lord. Another, almost exclusively used in the *dai* (arguments, probably the work of Yakamochi), is *Sumera mikoto*—His Supreme Majesty. *Sumerogi*, or *Sumeragi* (*suberagi* in the *Kokinshiu*), are other names. *Sumerami* is Queen-regnant—compare *Izana-gi* (Inviting Male or Prince) and *Izana-mi* (Inviting-Female or Princess).¹ *Sumeramikusa* is *Sumerami-ikusa*—The Great Royal Host. *Sumera* is rendered by the characters 天皇, Heaven-sovereign; that is, Sovereign appointed by Heaven. But that is not a Japanese idea. The Japanese Sovran is not appointed by Heaven with duties assigned to him, but he is the descendant of the Sky-shine Lady, and has no duties

¹ Probably these explanations are inaccurate. See Aston, *Shintô*, p. 172.

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to fulfil at all, any more than a god. *Sumera* and *Sumero* are, of course, identical expressions. What *ro* signifies cannot be determined—we find it again in *kamurogi*—perhaps it is *ra*, a worn-down form-word, extending the connotation of its principal. *Sume* is said to be connected with *sube(ru)* and to involve the idea of a general control (government) according to Dr. Aston and Sir Ernest Satow. I am not satisfied with that explanation, but I can offer no other, unless it be *sume*, used of the abiding-place of a god. The term Mikado—'Grand Dwelling'—is not used to denote the Sovran in the *Manyôshiu*, but rather his court, or even his realm, *wosu kuni no toho no mikado*, 'the far-bounded land our Lord ruleth,' lay 87.

In the *Kokinshiu*, however, the expression is found with a personal application, and at the present day, though Mikado is not used, Miya (Grand House) is universally employed to designate a Prince. I use 'Sovran' partly as somewhat more poetic than 'emperor'; partly as differentiating the Japanese monarch from the Chinese emperor; partly because the Mikado, in any proper Western sense of the word, never was an emperor.

The principal wife of the Sovran is designated *ohô-kisaki*, Great Kasaki. The derivation of *kisaki* is not known. It is easy, but too easy, to equate it with *ki-saki*, come first, or *kimi saki*, i. e. lady-in-front. The earliest use of the expression will be found in the *Nihongi* under the seventh year of Teuchi (668), when the Princess Yamato, daughter of the Crown Prince Furubito no Ohoye, was made Queen-Consort, a result doubtless of the Chinese reforms of 645 A. D. The Crown Prince, or Heir Apparent, was known as *Oho Miko* (Great Prince), or *Miko no Mikoto* (His Princely Highness). For the Crown Prince as well as for the *miko* generally the Japanese term is usually employed. Of the principal ranks and offices some account is given in the brief review, presented in a subsequent section, of the political and social conditions of the Manyô age. It remains shortly to explain the system of naming followed in the *dai* (arguments).

In ancient Japan no man who was '*hidalgo*', that is

'somebody', was a private person. He had rank, office, clan or tribe, family, and last—perhaps least—his own individuality. His full designation comprised all these elements. Of the Sovran the name was not mentioned. Of the higher dignitaries the family or personal names were, in like manner, under a quasi *tabu*; thus in the *dai*, as a rule, the personal names, at least of officials of *dainagon* or higher rank, were not given. In some cases the office, designation, and family-name are alone given. The Kogi expatiates on this subject at considerable length, but the details are without interest for Western readers. The complete designation of the author of lay 258 will suffice to illustrate the foregoing remarks. It was:—

Sagamu no Kuni no	Of the Land of Sagami,
Sakimori Kotoritsukahi	the Inspector of Frontier-recruiting (or levying),
jiu go wi ge	the lower division of junior-fifth rank,
Fujihara	tribal name,
Asomi	<i>kabane</i> or family name (Asomi was, perhaps, a Korean title, according to Dr. Aston),
Sukunamaro.	personal name.

Women seem to have had no personal names as a rule. Sometimes they bore the family and official names of their husbands, fathers, or eldest sons. To women of low rank, *ukareme* (hetairae), for instance, nicknames were given; occasionally, in other cases, thus we have Sakura Ko, the Lady Sakura (Cherryblossom). Often the *uji* or family name is given, followed by a descriptive appellation—*irátsume*, noble damsel; *oho irátsume*, elder noble damsel; *tozhi*, house-lady, who (according to Sir Ernest Satow *T. A. J. S.*, vii. 403) could sacrifice to the hearth-god on behalf of the family—the *miyazhi* (*mi ya nushi*) was (originally at least) the house-master, who performed the same duty in connexion with the palace hearth. Other designations of women are—*ohokimi* (great lady, a princess of the blood); *hime* or *hime miko* (a princess of the royal house); *uneme* or *unebe* (lady-in-waiting, waiting-woman,

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i. e. on the Sovran); *wotome* (maid or girl); *musume* (daughter, girl); *mi omo* (lady-mother); *kimi* (lady); and *me* (woman), occasionally used in an intimate manner to denote the wife or concubine of the speaker or writer.

§ XI. JAPAN IN THE MANYÔ AGE

Even as early as the fifth century the Mikado reigned rather than governed. Whether at any previous period he had exercised much real power may be doubted. In the sixth century, at all events, the Court was governed by the Soga clan; in the next by the Fujiwara house, whose supremacy paved the way for the Shôgunate and the dual régime which lasted down to 1868. The reverence for the Sovran, or the Sovranty, however, endured, as did that for the kingship during the baronial wars that preceded the establishment of the Tudor dynasty in England.

There is nothing to show that the Manyô Mikado had any force of his own to depend on, or ever exercised any real authority. He was the creature of the dominant faction among the *miko* (princes of the blood) and the *kimi* (nobles of royal descent), with the heads of the *tomo* and *be*. The position was maintained by the sanctity attaching to it. How that sanctity was originally acquired it is difficult to say. Jimmu seems to have been the only Mikado viewed by tradition as a hero. He, no doubt, represents some tribal chief. In the Manyô age the Mikado acted personally or by deputy as high priest for the land. In this capacity, no doubt, he once officiated personally at the Ohoharahi (great-sweeping) enacted at the end of the sixth and the twelfth lunar months, as well as on other occasions.¹ This was a symbolical cleansing of the land from

¹ The *norito* or religious formula pronounced on these occasions are always dignified and solemn compositions. The *norito* of the Ohoharahi may be briefly summarized (from Dr. Ashton's *Shintô*):—
'... Hearken all of you [the assembled princes and functionaries], the Sovran dear ancestors who divinely dwell in the Plain of High Heaven . . . gave command, saying: "Let our August Grandchild [Ninigi] hold serene rule over the fertile reed-plain, the region of fair rice-ears, as a land of peace" . . . there were savage deities [who were]

heavenly sins (agricultural misdemeanours) and earthly offences (ordinary crimes, inclusive of leprosy, &c.). The immigration of the Japanese took place piecemeal, and extended, no doubt, over a long period. There are no distinct traces in the myths or legends of continental life. The account of the Creation given in the Annals and in the Chronicles refers to Japan alone. The picture of the Japanese pantheon drawn in those works is full of Chinese touches; it is very hard to say with any certainty what step of the 'Way of the Gods' was not trodden or guided by Chinese teachers about the period of the Christian era. Hence the peculiar sanctity, attaching less to the Mikado than to the office or descent incarnated in him, seems not to have been brought to Japan by the continental ancestors of the Japanese, but to have been almost wholly of Japano-Chinese creation, long posterior to the establishment of the Japanese in Kyushu and Idzumo, which may go back to a period some centuries before the Christian era. But how it came into existence, and attained the dominant influence the Annals and Chronicles view it as possessing from the earliest days of the Mikadoate, we do not know, for there

called to a divine account, and expelled with a divine expulsion. Moreover, the rocks, trees, and smallest leaves of grass which had power of speech were put to silence. Then they dispatched him downward . . . cleaving as he went with an awful way-cleaving the many-piled clouds of Heaven, and delivered to him the Land [Japan]. At the middle point . . . Yamato, the High-Sun-Land, was established, . . . and there was built here a fair palace . . . to shelter him from sun and rain, with massy pillars based deep on the nethermost rocks, and up-raising to . . . High Heaven . . . its roof. . . . [There are] Heavenly offences [enumerated] . . . and Earthly offences [enumerated] . . . let him recite the . . . celestial ritual . . . [then] the Gods of Heaven, thrusting open the adamantine door of Heaven . . . will lend ear. The Gods of Earth, climbing to the tops of the high mountains . . . will lend ear . . . as [and] all offences will be annulled . . . as the many-piled clouds of Heaven are scattered by the breath of the Wind-God; as the morning breezes and the evening breezes dissipate the dense morning vapours and the dense evening vapours . . . so shall all offences be utterly annulled. Therefore he [the Mikado] is graciously pleased to purify and cleanse them away . . .'

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are no data, texts, traditions, or myths to assist the inquiry to a truly historical conclusion.

The expressions of loyalty in the Lays, fervid as they appear, are mostly of the conventional type common with Court poets—as conventional as those which invoke perpetuity for the palaces, which were changed with almost every reign up to the foundation of Kyôto, long after the last *tanka* of the *Manyôshiu* had been composed.

The record of the Manyô age set forth in the *Nihongi* and its *zoku*, or continuation, is not exhilarating reading. It is the story of an endless welter of faction-fights, rebellions, plots, and murders. If the much-vaunted virtue of *chiugi*¹ (loyalty) existed in those days, the Mikado was the last person to profit by it. The Yamato territory, occupying the central and western lands of the Ise peninsula, lying between the Inland Sea and the Pacific Ocean, had been extended northwards and eastwards at the expense of the Yemishi or Ainu, to the south at the expense of the Kumaso aborigines. How this was effected the *Nihongi* does not tell us. Probably it was a gradual extension of settlement, as partly to escape taxation and service, partly through pressure of population, folk migrated from the central territories over the frontiers. It does not appear to have been due, save perhaps in the case of the Eastland to some extent, to deliberate conquest. The *Nihongi* is equally silent upon the nature of the overlordship which Japan seems to have exercised over the Korean kingdoms

¹ *Chiugi* is a Chinese word, and the sentiment is really Chinese not Japanese. It is inculcated by Confucianism, not by Buddhism, nor is it a tenet of Shintô. Shintô teaches, as far as it teaches anything, blind obedience to the Mikado as a god; but that is not *chiugi*. It was a creation of the so-called feudal system, and when this culminated in the Tokugawa Shôgunate, which, in effect, was the beginning of its end by rendering it unnecessary, the study of Confucianism degraded *fu-chiugi*, or disloyalty—i. e. disobedience to one's immediate superior and all above—to the position awarded to it by Dante, the *giudecca*, or last ring of the Inferno. Nothing in Old Japanese history or literature leads me to suppose that *chiugi* as a worldly virtue—it has no Japanese equivalent—was a whit more characteristic of Old Japan than of other lands. The practice of *harukiri* was not its outcome.

of Mimana and Kudara. Immigration on a considerable scale from Korea is mentioned, and missions to and from that country and China—where Japan was regarded as a tributary state—are frequently noticed. Otherwise Japan had no intercourse with the outside world. Within her own limits there was, as there always has been in Japan, great activity in decree and statute-making, and after the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century—to some extent before—considerable progress was achieved in internal organization. The characteristic trait of the time is still the characteristic trait of the Japanese state—the persistence of the sovereignty in one family, easily enough maintained where adoption was common, and where polygamy, in effect, was the rule; which, however, has often been modified by the election out of that family of the scion—son, brother (or even widow) of the deceased Mikado—most acceptable to the dominant party of princes, nobles, and high officials.

It was the introduction of Buddhism that led to the supremacy of the Soga clan; and it was probably the desire of the Fujiwara clan to concentrate and centralize the power they had usurped that led to the reform of A.D. 645, which sought to combine the order and regularity of the Chinese system with the traditional prestige and vague patriarchy of a Sumerogi who was a descendant of the Sky-shine goddess. Thus the power of the state was in the hands of the clan, assured by its association with a sacrosanct authority which could sustain but not weaken its exercise.

By the sixth century the territory of the Mikado is said to have been divided into *kuni* or provinces, *kôri* or counties, and *agata* or *sato*, cantons or 'gau', originally, perhaps, tracts of land containing about fifty family-houses. The Mikado's revenue, wholly gathered in kind, consisted of the produce of his *mita* or Crown-lands, cultivated by Crown-serfs (*tabe*), and stored in Crown-granaries (*miyake*). In addition he levied taxes, *mitsugi*, of which there were two kinds, bow-end *mitsugi*, the produce of men's labour as hunters and fishers, and hand-end *mitsugi*, the produce of women's labour, grain, cloth, &c. Cloth, indeed, served

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as a sort of currency. Forced labour, *etachi*, was at his disposal for the building of palaces, ships, and tombs (*misasagi*); and a special tax of rice, *tachikara* (lit. field-force or arm-power, the product of labour), supplied, doubtless, the principal means of payment to his officers, guards, and servants. What means the Government possessed of enforcing its will is not clear. There were apparently palace guards, assisted by the Ôtomo and Mononobe clans, to preserve order in the capital, but for punitive expeditions to frontier districts or to Korea the goodwill of the princes and the outer clans had to be enlisted. The Mikado had no clan of his own, but he was *primus* among a crowd of kinsmen, and must have depended entirely upon the support, even within his own palace, of the party in power. With the extension of the territory the central power waned, and the spirit of faction grew until it culminated in the creation by Yoritomo of the dual government in 1192, which lasted down to 1868.

Around the Mikado were grouped the princes of the blood (*miko*) and the kinsmen of the blood (*kimi*), next to whom came the ministers (*omi*). There was no nobility without office, nor, in later times, without special rank; but there might be office without nobility, at least high nobility. Yakamochi, for instance, began his career as a mere *toneri* (page or servant, associated with *yatsuko*, house-servant), to end as a provincial governor and privy councillor. He, however, boasted of belonging to the Ohotomo clan, the primal ancestor of which was of divine descent, higher even than that of the Sun-goddess herself. It is noteworthy that men of rank always traced back their descent to a scion of the Royal House. The high officials were *miyatsuko*, servants of the Grand House; *tomo no miyatsuko*, officials of the Court and the home territories; and *kuni no miyatsuko*, officials of the provinces and frontiers. The Ohotomo and Mononobe clans (*uji* or families, rather than clans or tribes) had hereditary charge of the Palace gates, the significance of which is, probably, that they were, or were part of, the dominant party up to the time of the rise of the Soga combination.

There existed also a corps of *hayato* (swift-men) or soldiery, but the position of these men cannot be definitely stated. Lastly, there was, from the fourth or fifth century onwards, a considerable garrison in Tsukushi to keep open communications with Korea, but how this was recruited and maintained is not evident. In the latter part of the Manyô age it was known as the *Dazaifu* (great-control government).

With the *miko*, *kimi*, and both *miyatsuko* the *murazhi* are constantly enumerated. *Murazhi*, *mura-nushi*, means 'chief', tribal or family; they may have been locally what the *omi* were at the Court. The various official names, *miyatsuko* of this, *murazhi* of that, became in course of time *kabane* or titles merely, which by prescription or grant hardened into family names. All the above designations are met with in the lays, or their *dai*, and in addition some of the following :—

Kimi, *wake*, and *inaki*, local officers of inferior position; *atahe*, landowners; *suguri*, *tsukasa*, and *kishi*, who may have been charged with the headship of Korean immigrant colonies, and *agata-nushi*, who with the *kuni-miyatsuko* were the highest local officials. The *kami*, heads of departments, chiefs, or governors, seem, among other duties, to have administered frontier or remote provinces—the name was a later one than any of those just mentioned. These titles, more or less, became family *kabane*, like the higher designations. It is often impossible to determine whether a particular expression is a mere family name, or an official designation. The *uji* and *kabane* were distributed, in early times, in *tomo*, groups or corporations or associations. Of these there were said to be eighty, hence the expression so common in the lays, *ya so tomo* (it became a *makura kotoba*)—*ya so* (eighty) probably signified merely 'all'.

In these the *tomo* (speaking generally) were the *be*, of guilds (the nearest English term). There were said to be 180 of these *momoyatobe*, but here again the expression may mean simply 'all the *be*'. They are arranged by Professor Asakawa (in his valuable *Early Institutional Life of Japan*) in three classes :—Personal followers of the head of the *be* (or *tomo*)—these probably were the oldest *be*, such as Saheki,

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Kume, Ôtomo, Monono (all mentioned in the Anthology); groups created (?) in memory of persons or events of importance, such as *Takerube* (after Yamatotake), *Fujiharabe* (after the Princess Fujihara), *Chihisakobe*¹, *Sukushibe* (after a chief of Su 蘇, descended from a Chinese who supplied the court with cows' milk, then a rare luxury); occupation-groups, guilds or corporations of *yugebe* (bowyers), *yatsukuribe* (fletchers), *totoribe* (fowlers), *torikahibe* (cormorant-keepers), *shishitobe* (fleshers), *amabe* (fishers), *hashibe* (potters), *yamabe* (foresters), *svikahibe* (swineherds), a guild of Korean scholars, &c., &c. Many *be* were of foreign origin, Korean or Chinese, such as *tsuki no ofuto* (who looked after hand-tributes, such as foreign cloth, a sort of custom-house officials?), *tsukuribe* (Chinese potters), *yekukibe* (foreign artists), *nishikibe* (brocade makers, or importers?), *kurabe* (saddlers), &c. (see N. reigns of Yuryaku, Suinin, Keikô, Ôjin, Kôgyo, &c.). Many of these became or were granted as family names—*kabane*, lit. a corpse, perhaps through confusion between the ideograph denoting *kabane* 尸 and the similar one 戶 denoting a habitation.¹ The first class of *tomo* or *be* no doubt represented the early tribes who occupied Yamato; the second and third classes were of administrative or social origin. Their existence points to the attainment of a considerable degree of organization by the State before the Chinese reforms of 645. Of the multitude we hear little. The *tami* constituted a *populus* rather than a *plebs*, 'in part at least: the upper sections being more or less free,² the middle, villains, possessed of some freedom, the lower consisting of slaves, often of Korean or Aina origin. The great men exercised almost complete power over their inferiors. Ôjin gave the slanderer of his elder brother Takeno-uchi into slavery with

¹ The origin of the name is quaint enough. The Mikado Yuryaku (fifth century), wishing to promote the cultivation of silk, ordered one of his courtiers to collect silkworms—*kahiko*. *Kahiko* also means 'nurslings', and he accordingly collected babies instead of silkworms. Then the Mikado told him he might bring them up himself, and made him head of the Little-one (Chihisako) *be* (N. I. 347).

² See note appended to this section (p. lxxix).

all his posterity; Yuryaku tattooed the faces of a number of the men of Uda in Yamato, and made them slaves of the fowler *be*, and the descendants of another slanderer, Ne no Omi, to be bag-bearers of Chinu, a royal farm steward. Presents of men and women, too, frequently passed between the Korean States and Japan and China. Slaves could be bought and sold, but there was no slave-trade or market. Debtors, children, &c., could be sold into slavery. They are frequently mentioned in the *Nihongi*, and in the laws and edicts of the period, and are always regarded as vile creatures. Slaves were not seldom offered as sacrifices to the gods, or buried alive with their dead masters.

In 645 the old *kabane* did not altogether cease to exist. In 684, under Temmu, eight new ones (*hassei*) were created, most of which are mentioned in the *dai* of the *uta*. They were *mahito* (patricians, of royal kinship), *asomi* (courtiers), *sukune* (nobles), *imiki* (ritual officials), *michinoshi* (learned men, artists, &c.), *omi* (Court officials), *murazhi* (district officials), and *inagi* (perhaps gentry). See also cap-ranks, N. II. 281, and Fl. 310, notes.

Under the Mikado Saga (810–23) the *Shinsenshōshiroku* was compiled (List of new-made *kabane*), giving the names of 1,182 clans or families, of which about twenty still exist; among these the four well-known ones, Minamoto, Taira, Tachibana (descended from former Mikados), and Fujiwara, said to be descended from a pre-Jimmu god, but virtually from the Mikado Tēchi (668–71).

In 645 it was decreed that the progeny of nobles should belong to the father, of non-nobles to the mother, and the mixed progeny of slaves should be slaves. Mean people (*iyashito*) are keepers of graves, servants, and slaves; but there must have been a free class, not soldiers, intermediate between slaves and nobles.

Marriage in Early Japan was simply cohabitation. There was no word for 'wife' or for 'marriage'; in modern Japanese all words relating to the subject of marriage are Chinese. There was, however, a word for 'spouse' (*tsuma*), the etymology of which is unknown. The Sovran took his *tsuma* usually from among his own kinsfolk: often he

espoused a half-sister (by the father's side usually), and this practice probably obtained among the nobility.¹ A man might have many 'tsuma' in different places,² remote from each other; their children would rarely know each other, and often not their father; hence marriage with half-sisters not by the mother's side did not appear objectionable. A peculiarity of the system was that—as often appears in the lays—a man visited, his 'tsuma', who remained in her parents' home, usually by stealth, perhaps until a child was born. The wife who lived with her husband had a separate apartment, often a separate dwelling or pavilion of her own. What her rights were, if any, is unknown. With the spread of Chinese civilization her position improved. Lay 62, with its preface, is a curious illustration of this advance. At some time during the Manyô period it was the custom for the bride's parents to send a *koto* (flat harp) to the groom (*adzuma koto* = my wife-harp); on separation this was returned, *koto to [koro] wo watasu* = change *koto*-place. Noble and mean could not intermarry; caste customs rigidly restricted the *connubium*. In some cases women could be heads of families, even bastards might, or strangers in blood, by adoption, a practice that became more common in later times. There were rules governing adoption, but these seem to have been of Chinese origin. So also the rule that the husband must be fifteen and the wife thirteen.

During the greater part of the Manyô age the dead were buried. The old word for 'bury' was *hafuru*. The bodies of persons of rank or importance were not at once interred. They were deposited in a coffin or sarcophagus, apparently, within a stone enclosure (*araki*), to be preserved from the attacks of wild beasts. Later, a hut was built, as a sort of mortuary chapel; around the place of deposit were built

¹ In the reign of Henry VIII, the Pope, to solve a political difficulty, was willing that the king's illegitimate son, the Duke of Richmond, should marry his half-sister, Mary. I believe there are instances in European history of the marriage of uterine brothers and sisters being contemplated for political purposes.

² See the Kojiki lay following after lay 264.

other huts for watchers, also for mourners; sometimes a 'palace' was erected for a prolonged mourning, which might extend over years. During eight days and nights a mourning ritual was observed, part of which consisted in chanting or reciting the deceased's *nenia*. The watching of the corpse is thus alluded to in one of two *tanka* on the death of Prince Yamato-dake (A. D. 113).

*Nadzuki no
ta no ina-gara ni
i-nagara
haki-motorofu
tokorodzura.*

Among the rice-fields,
where bare are the rice-
haulms standing,
among the rice-haulms
creepeth coiling ever
the five-leaved plant of yam!

That is, the mourners wander endlessly about the fields near the chapel (or tomb), like the coils of the creeping yam among the rice-stubbles. There is a word-play on the two *inagara* (K. xxxiv. 221); *nadzuki* = *ina tsuki*. To preserve the body it was rubbed (in some cases?) with cinnabar. The coffin was of wood at first, later of stone. There was a *be* of stone coffin-makers—*ishitsukuribe* (cf. Taketori, the First Quest, *infra*). At the proper time the true funeral took place after a very elaborate fashion. A description of the rites practised at various epochs will be found in Mr. Lay's excellent paper, on the subject (*T. A. S. J.* xix, p. 509). The rear of the procession was brought up by followers bearing flags of blue, red, and white, such as are mentioned in lay 24. The *araki* above described may have been converted into or replaced by the stone cell and passage, as described in Mr. Gowland's valuable memoir on 'Dolmens and Burial Mounds in Japan' (*Archæologia*, lv).

In the *Manyōshū* ancestor-worship is scarcely, if at all, referred to. In the *Kojiki* it is not, I think, mentioned. In the *Nihongi* there is a definite instance under the year A. D. 681 of worship of the spirit of the Mikado's grand-father. There can be no doubt that true ancestor-worship in Japan is of Chinese importation, as are most other beliefs and practices, in greater or less measure, even of archaic

Japan, as they have come down to us. On this point Dr. Aston's *Shintô* should be consulted.

In the Introduction to his translation of the Kojiki Professor Chamberlain has drawn an elaborate picture of the life of the early Japanese. But the picture seems too harsh in outline and colour to represent truly the social state of Japan during, at least, the latter part of the Manyô age. The material of their clothes, we are told, was cloth made of hemp and of the inner bark of the paper-mulberry (*Broussonetia*), which was dyed by being rubbed with madder, woad, and other tinctorial plants. But in the *Nihongi*, under the year 681, we read that in that year a sumptuary law, in ninety-two articles, was established which enacted the regulation according to a scale given in the statute of 'the costumes of all, from the princes of the blood down to the common people, and the wearing of gold and silver, pearls and jewels, purple, brocade, embroidery, fine silks, together with woollen carpets, head-dresses, and girdles, as well as all kinds of coloured stuffs' (N. II. 350).¹

The dress of both sexes seems to have consisted essentially of an upper open-sleeved mantle, and a lower, more or less ample, sometimes (in women's dress) trailing skirt, with skirts or petticoats underneath, confined by girdles, the knotting of which as a token of fidelity is often alluded to. Socks of stuff or silk were worn under lacquered or leather boots, and on state occasions hats or caps of various sizes and shapes were worn by the men. The hair was bound up, in a topknot by boys, in a knot on either side the head in men; the girls let their tresses fall over their shoulders; the *tsuma* wore a kind of topknot and flowing locks combined. Most of these details are referred to in the lays; for a more complete account Professor Chamberlain's description must be consulted (K. xxx). One custom frequently mentioned in the lays is the wearing by either sex of wigs or false hair (*katsura* or *kazura* ²), and chaplets

¹ See also the curious lay (203) of the Old Man and the Nine Virgins.

² The *Nippon Kôkogaku* says that the nature and purpose of these are unknown. They may have been rather coverings for the hair, than true wigs or false hair (*kamaji*). Perhaps chaplets are always meant.

or garlands of flowers (chiefly cherry-sprays) or of leaves (autumn maple); depending armlets, too, were worn of small threaded oranges, as well as bead-laces and such-like ornaments. The beads, *tama*, were *awabi* pearls, agates, cornelians, steatites, &c., shaped into cylinders, carved and pierced, or into claw-like curved forms (Baron H. von Siebold's *Notes on Japanese Archaeology*, also Aston's *Shintô*). A head-dress, *hite*, is often mentioned, either a scarf or a loose wimple, κρήδεμνον. Horses (for riding), the barndoor fowl, cormorants for fishing, dogs, deer, and whales are often referred to in the lays. Boats are frequently mentioned, but neither in the Manyôshû nor in the Nihongi (I think) is there any reference to sailing craft. They are always propelled by poles or sculls fore and aft. Only a few birds are mentioned—dotterels, pheasants, coppercocks, wild geese, teal, grebes, wild-duck, hawfinches, the owl, the *uguisu*, and the hawk. Hawking was a favourite amusement, and is described in the Nihongi as early as A.D. 352. Hunting with the bow and arrow was another diversion of the better sort of folk; so was net-fowling, and netting fish, and angling. Then, as now, the view of a fishery was a delight to the (more or less conventionally), nature-loving Japanese. Trout were esteemed, so were crabs and various shell-fish (*Melania*, clams, *Turbinidae* sp., &c.); whales were caught—pretty often, it would appear, as a *makura kotoba* turns upon the feat—and no doubt eaten. Rice is scarcely mentioned in the Anthology, millet rarely, some sort of *Brassica* more often, lettuce once or twice, various seaweeds,¹ (apparently much prized), a species of *Pueraria*, and a sort of yam (*Dioscorea*); but no fruit except the orange, *tachibana*, which does not seem to have been eaten, though in one lay (231) there is a reference to it implying its use as an article of food. The flowers, too, are very few—the pink, the bush-clover (*Lespedeza*), the cherry blooms and plum blossoms, the lily, and one or two more are all that are noticed in the lays.

¹ The ancient Chinese ate pondweeds and duckweeds, boiling them as vegetables. Water-plants, it is said, are never poisonous.

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The use of sails is not mentioned, as already stated, in the Manyôshiu or in the Nihongi; communication by sea must have been long and perilous. Journey by land was almost equally dangerous. In the Anthology the hardships and discomforts of travel are a subject of bitter complaint—to follow what were mere tracks at the best through the dense woods and rugged mountainous country of central Japan, obliged to sleep under a tree, or amidst the bush, or under a hastily run-up shelter, exchanging for these toils the social pleasures of the capital—the only place in the realm where such were possible—must have been felt by the courtiers appointed to some provincial post as a most repulsive part of their duty. Their complaints are often very undignified whines.¹

The dwellings, including the 'palaces' of early Japan, were simple wooden structures, usually built on a platform or area of beaten earth², and surrounded by a fence, often of wattled bush-work, sometimes of strong palisades with gateways.

A new 'palace' was deemed necessary by most of the Mikados on their succession, up to the Heian period (end of ninth century). The previous death probably put the palace under *tabu*. The 'palace' consisted of a number of wooden structures more or less connected, and surrounded by defences pierced with twelve gates, apparently, towards the close of the Manyô period. There were no sliding, but opening doors, mats were used, but neither tables nor chairs, and either separate sleeping chambers or *toko* (alcoves) existed. The *niwa*, or forecourt of the compound, seems, in part at least, to have been used as a garden. In the *sato*, or villages near the capital, there may have been terraces of dwellings occupied by officials of the court and members of the great families. Bridges

¹ Travellers not unfrequently died of hunger and hardship. Several of the Manyô lays turn upon the finding of the corpses of such ill-starred wayfarers. As late as the sixteenth century Sasa Norimasa, with all his family, died of starvation in his flight from his foes, near Mt. Yarigatake (as to which peak, see the Rev. W. Weston's *Japanese Alps*).

² Compare the m. k. *awoniyoshi* as applied to Nara.

of timber were sometimes coloured red, but nothing is said in the Anthology about any decoration, exterior or interior, of the habitations of the period. Tiles, however, are mentioned once (lay 203).

Beyond City-Royal no town is named as such in the Manyôshû, nor is the designation given of any village, or specifically, of any shrine or temple.

It may be doubted whether the reforms of A.D. 645 increased the prestige or power of the Mikado, or indeed was of any particular political advantage to the state. It favoured the spread of Buddhism, and organized an aristocratic bureaucracy, of the new ranks of which some brief account is necessary. The principal innovation was the introduction of the system of *i* or Court ranks, and *kwan*, grades of office. In 634 the eighty *kabane* had already been reduced to eight—Mahito, Asomi, Sukune, Imiki, Omi, Michinoshi, Murazhi, and Inaki; thus degrading the Omi and Murazhi and exalting the Inaki. With the reform the *tomo* disappeared, not probably all the *be*, nor the *kabane* or *uji*, but power was taken from them. Six ranks, each two-graded, were established about 604. In 685 six ranks were instituted for princes, each divided into *dai* (great) and *kawô* (broad), and twenty-four for high officials, similarly divided—in all sixty grades of rank. Eventually the number of ranks was reduced in number, but their subdivision was carried further. As is seen in the *dai* to the later lays the full designation of a person included his rank and office, and was given with his *uji* along in the case of a person of high rank. The administrative changes (*kwan*) were radical. There were three supreme councillors (*daijin*), *sa* (left) and *u* (right), and *naijin* (a sort of high chancellor). Later there was a *daijo daijin*, or prime councillor. Below the *daijin* came the *daibu* (great ones), who superintended and occupied the higher posts in the eight Boards created in 649, to which, in effect, correspond the existing Departments of the Imperial Government. A full statement and discussion of the early institutions of Japan, with a description of the reforms initiated in the seventh century, and a com-

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parison of the new system with that of China, on which it was modelled, will be found in Prof. Asakawa's valuable work cited above.

In the Fifth Book, and in the last four books, the prevailing tone of the lays is Buddhist; in the remaining books Shintô. But not many references are made to religious practices, and these are of a very cursory nature; nor (beyond those of a few of the primal ancestral deities) are the names of any gods given, nor is there any mention of images or pictures of any of the gods. Neither, as already stated, is there any clear reference to ancestral worship, nor to invocation of the spirits of the dead, to be found in the Manyôshiu, I believe, nor in the Kojiki or Nihongi; indeed, save in a few later instances, ancestors are scarcely alluded to unless in connexion with the Mikado, the worship of whose ancestors *as gods* is alone enjoined. Even the Greater Purification (*ohoharahi*) is unnoticed—in the *chôka*, at all events; the Lesser Purification (*misogi*¹) is alluded to occasionally, as in lay 84. The Mikado, at death, went back to heaven; as for other folk, Shintô seems to have had no definite place for them, good or bad, but merely a rubbish-world (*yomi*), a dark under-place into which all pollutions and polluted things—perhaps all things inferior to the Mikado—were indiscriminately swept.

In Japanese cosmology the idea of a firmament is not distinctly formed. *Sora* means the space occupied by the atmosphere, above which was *ama*, heaven, conceived of as having a material nature; indeed it is treated very much as an earthly land. But this is not a firmament. The relation of the stars, sun, moon, and planets to this *ama* are nowhere (so far as I know) set forth in the ancient cosmology of Japan. About these, as about most other

¹ A good account of both these lustrations is given in Dr. Aston's *Shintô*. They consisted essentially of a ritual, which in time became complicated and is still practised; prayers of hope rather than gratitude—one is cited at the opening of this section—and offerings of cloth and other symbols, which were finally committed to a running stream.

natural appearances, the Old Japanese seem never to have had any curiosity, or, indeed, to have paid any attention whatever to them.

The mass of the people—*tami*, field-hands—appear to have been serfs or slaves, though freemen existed, subject, however, to the uncontrolled will of the great folk, especially in the remoter and frontier provinces. Sustenance-fiefs of houses, up to many thousands, are frequently mentioned in the *Nihongi*; and the tenants of these houses must have given labour and tax in kind to the fiefholder, in fact they were practically his serfs or villains. There was, however, no real feudalism; the organization remained tribal, in essence, up to Bakufu times—more or less so, indeed, up to the abolition of the *han* in 1871. There was no law, no moral code (apart from Buddhism and Chinese innovations); the purifications, originally of a purely physical character, came by extension to serve as a moral system, especially in reference to ritual offences, and offences of a kind that have been universally considered as shocking to human sense, or grossly incompatible with an existing form of human society. Crimes or sins—*tsumi* (the etymology of the word is unknown¹)—fell into two categories, heavenly sins and earthly sins; the latter such as have been committed since the advent of Jimmu. Sir E. Satow has propounded an attractive theory of these, turning upon the probability that the earliest Asiatic immigrants to Izumo were tillers of the soil, while the aboriginals were hunters and fishers. For long the two races did not intermingle, and as they came from beyond the sea, where sea and sky touch, they acquired a celestial character, and their particular offences (which would be infringements of the ritual they brought with them and offences of an agricultural character) thus came to be regarded as 'heavenly', while acts of violence, grossness, and the like (a terrible list is given of them in the *Kojiki*) were appropriated to the aboriginal quasi-savage hunters and

¹ It may be *tsumi*, to pluck—i.e. to rob harvest-fields, a gross agricultural crime. Such a derivation would lend support to Sir E. Satow's theory mentioned below.

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fishers and termed 'earthly' offences. A full account of Shintô¹ will be found in Sir E. Satow's papers in the *T. A. S. J.*, supplemented by an excellent one by Professor Florenz in the same series, and the whole subject is treated at length in Dr. Aston's work, already often cited.

A brief examination is here opportune of the great reform of the seventh century, which effectually sinicized the state, of which, nevertheless, the unforeseen consequence was the establishment of the military tyranny of the Shôgunate in the twelfth century. The government was remodelled upon the plan of that of China, with differences of no great importance—the central administration consisting of eight ministries or *shô*, as under:—

Nakatsukasa, dealing with matters appertaining to the Mikado, and with the archives of the state.

Shikibu, superintending Court rites and the civil hierarchy.

Jibu, regulating matters connected with the nobility and etiquette.

Mimbu, a sort of Ministry of the Interior.

Hyôbu, Ministry of War.

Gyôbu, Ministry of Criminal Justice.

Okura, Ministry of Finance.

Kunai, Ministry of Court Finance.

These were subordinate to a High Council, consisting of three *Daijin* or great ministers, of the left (*Sa*), of the right (*U*), and a third, *Naijin* (not to be mistaken for the later *Naidaijin*), the first *Naijin* being Kamako himself². The *Daijin* were assisted by two *kuni-hakase*, or state doctors or learned men. At a later period the High Council included three *nagon* or privy councillors (*dai-chiu*, and *shô*), a *sangi* (chancellor), and a *naidaijin*, who seems to have replaced the *naijin*.

¹ It is worth mentioning that in both Chinese and Japanese mythology the creation or shaping of the world (or part of it) is accounted for, and also the origins of the gods; the creation or development of man is not, apparently, noticed. Further information on many of the points mentioned in this section will be found in the notes to the lays.

² His position seems to have been much that of a high chancellor.

In the *shō* we find *kyō* (principal minister), *taiu* (vice-minister), *shōyu* (second vice-minister), with various *kami* (heads of departments), *sakwan* (deputies), *suke* (assistants), and other officers.

The reform was a consequence of the fall of the Soga clan, the story of which is well told in N. II. 189-94, and was effected by a Prince, Naka no Ohoye, and a member of the Nakatomi family, Kamako, better known as K'amatari (614-97), the founder of the great Fujiwara house, with the help of a learned Chinese named Min, versed in the policy of the Thang dynasty, and Takamuko, a Japanese who had studied administration in China. The Chinese system, however, was designed to preserve the dynasty; the Japanese reform was not needed for that purpose, and became merely a more efficient means of taxing the people. It may well be doubted whether, on the whole, it was not injurious rather than beneficial to the state.

Such was the central government. The local administration (outside of, partially within, the *kinai* or Home Provinces) depended upon a division of the territory into *kuni* (provinces), *kohori* (counties), *sato* (districts of fifty houses), and *kumi* (associations of five families). The counties consisted of—(a) three *sato*; (b) four to thirty *sato*; (c) thirty-one to forty *sato*. Of the lower divisions there were elders who do not appear to have been elected but nominated; the *kohori* were placed under governors known as *gunrei*, and the *kuni* under lords (*kumi*), assisted by deputies (*suke*), secretaries (*hangwan* or *matsurigoto-bito*), and clerks (*fumibito*). All these designations are met with in the *dai* (arguments) prefixed to the lays.

It may be said, generally, that the business of the local officials was to collect taxes (in kind), and increase the amount by facilitating increase of population to enable more and more land to be cultivated. In the result the courtiers came to live more and more upon the taxes drawn from the provinces; outlaws of all kinds increased and migrated to the *kinai*, where taxation was less onerous, or became dependents of the nobles, who themselves not seldom robbed the convoys of provincial taxes. These

nobles were *miko* and *ohokimi* (princes—very numerous owing to the polygamy of the Mikados), and *omi*, the higher nobles and officials. Many of the *kimi* were poor—in A.D. 733 salt and rice were distributed to two hundred and thirteen of them, who were at the same time scolded for their laziness. Thus began the dependence of court on country, which finally reduced the former to a mere shadow so far as political power was concerned. The outer lords, by themselves or their representatives, obtained the control of the provinces bordering upon the advancing frontier. In A.D. 889 Prince Takamochi obtained the family name Taira, and in 941 Prince Tsunemoto was granted that of Minamoto. The centre of political power moved to a position on the battle-field between these two famous clans, out of which emerged the Shôgunate of 1192 and the system of military government which culminated in the absolute tyranny of the Bakufu, 1603–1868, and, save for a glimpse of the West in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, maintained the Japanese spirit in bondage until recent years.

NOTE.—In an interesting essay on the *kabane*, printed in the *Shigaku Zasshi* of Dec. 14, 38 Meiji (1905), K. Nagata *Hôgakushi* explains the use of this curious term (corpse) for family or clan as due to a Japanese reading of the character 骨, lit. bone or skeleton, used in connexion with ancient Korean designations of [rank or] relationship. He finds that the term was not used before the age of Ôjin and Nintoku (A. D. 270–399), after the historical commencement of Korean intercourse with Japan. Of the three very ancient *kabane*—*Omi*, *Murazhi*, and *Atahe* (rank-names originally), he also finds a Korean derivation (*atahe* may be of Ainu origin), although, with the aid of the facile etymologies of Japan, these are usually explained as *ohomi* (grandee), *muranushi* (village headman), and *ata* (or *ate*) *hiye* (he or e), noble elder brother.

§ XII. DECORATION OF JAPANESE VERSE

In relation to the decoration of Japanese verse it must be remembered that archaic Japanese poetry had but scanty means of embellishment at its command. The language was the court-colloquial of the time, slightly poetized by such devices as the use of 'empty' or enclitical words, *shi*,

mo, ka, ya, yo, na, and the like, or compounds of these, employed much as similar words are employed in Homeric verse—not, however, as mere *chevilles*, for they round off the sense as well as the metre; by repetitions of refrain-like phrases, parallelisms resembling those of Hebrew poetry; and inversions, such as are more common in our own than in any other modern verse. But the main decoration of archaic Japanese poetry, wholly intrinsic in character, was of a quite unique quality. The elements were word-plays, sound-plays, and *makura kotoba*, or pillow-words. The latter form of embellishment is discussed in the next section. In estimating the value of the decoration of Japanese verse we must remember that the poet of Old Nippon could not resort for ornamental purposes either to classical metre, or to romantic rhyme, or to Teutonic alliteration, and that, on the other hand, the abundance of homophons in his language tempted him irresistibly to the use of word and sound jugglery. The expectation of rhyme and metre was replaced by the expectation of a double or even a triple meaning conveyed by a single sound, or rhyme-wise within the verse by difference of meanings combined with identity of sounds. The latter combination, of course, is a mere jingle, but so, after all, is Western rhyme to a Japanese, so would it, probably, have been to a Greek ear; but the former kind is often very ingenious and always quaint, generally seriously intended as a grace, not as a mere joke (*kyôgen*) or a piece of humour (*share*). It is not difficult to understand how pleasantly such devices would impress a Japanese of the eighth century accustomed to and expectant of the devices of the literary craftsmanship of his time. They can, of course, hardly ever be rendered or even imitated in a translation, though some dim suggestion of their value is occasionally possible.

To illustrate the foregoing remarks a few instances may be cited and explained.

In Lay 210 the first eleven verses are merely a preface to the syllable *hé* of Héguri Hill. *Hé* here is probably a contraction of *uhé*, upper, but *hé* also means folds or

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layers, and the prefatorial lines involve a reference to empiled tiger-skins described poetically as the trophy of a supposed husband or lover, absent on service in Korea.

In another lay a similar preface introduces 'Futakami' Hill where *futa* means twain—the Twain-peaked Hill. But to *futa* as 'twain' no poetical expression can easily be applied, hence the poet treats it as its homophon *futa*, 'a lid,' which is adorned by a description suitable to the lid of a lady's toilet-box (*kushige*), or of a *kushige* of some goddess, such as are mentioned in many myths, or in *märchen* like that of Urashima, lay 105.

A third instance is furnished by a *tanka* beginning with:—

Wotomeraga
umi wo kaku.tofu
Kase no yama.—

Here Kase is the name of a hill, it also means a spool or hank of hempen yarn, and by resorting to the homophon the decoration can be introduced 'the hill men Hank-(that spinsters wind) hill call'. The order of words in Japanese allows of this embellishment being introduced without confusion of the phrase.

The main defence of these devices is that they extend the range of suggestiveness; a cardinal principle of Japanese poetry, not carried to an unpleasing excess in the Anthology, being the utmost compression of language combined with the utmost development of meaning, not stated but (inevitably) implied; as when a verse ends with a dash —, but yet is so expressed that the dash is more eloquent than words.

Even in the tenth century these devices had become conceits that absorbed almost all the poetic power of Japan; later still the *tanka* or five-line sonnet itself was shortened, and replaced by a sort of epigram or tercet of seventeen syllables, that was rather a suggestive title to a poem, than itself a poem. The following comparison, in which the same motive, love of home, is treated by two Western poets and their brother of the farthest East, will show the

'skeletonesque' trill which the latter came to regard—not without some justice, nevertheless—as poetry.

Lamartine has somewhere the charming if rather sentimental lines :—

Ce sont là les séjours, les sites, les rivages,
Dont mon âme attendrie évoque les images,
Et dont, pendant des nuits, mes songes les plus beaux,
Pour enchanter mes yeux, composent leurs tableaux.

'Locker-Lampson, in 'My Confidences', puts the matter in a more homely, perhaps a more telling way—citing William Allingham :—

Four ducks and a pond,
a grass bank beyond,
a blue sky of spring,
white clouds on the wing—
how little a thing,
to remember for years,
to remember with tears!

But the Japanese poet is briefer than either :—

<i>Furu ike ya</i>	The old pond, ha!
<i>kahazu tobi komu</i>	and the leap in
<i>midzu no oto!</i>	of the frog, and the din!

I take the epigram from Prof. Chamberlain's *Shirube*. Many other examples will be found in his fine essay on 'Bashô and the Japanese Epigram', *T.A.S.J.*, vol. xxx, pt. ii, some of which I have extracted and appended to the lays.¹

§ XIII. MAKURA KOTOBA 'OR PILLOW-WORDS

The name *makura kotoba* has been much discussed, but its origin and precise value cannot be certainly ascertained. *Makura* (*maki-kura* = roll-rest) means a pillow, originally a rolled up cylinder of cloth or paper, or a bundle of reeds or grass used as a head-rest. *Makura no Zôshi* is the title of a sort of journal (*nikki*) kept by the Princess Sei Shônagon, a descendant, of the compiler of the *Nihongi*, who flourished in the eleventh century. The story runs that

¹ See *infra*, p. 309.

the Queen-consort showed her a quantity of paper, saying that the Mikado on a similar roll had caused a history to be written. 'It will do for a pillow,' replied the Princess. 'Then take it,' cried the Queen. So the Princess took it and used it up by writing upon it all sorts of things.¹ *Makura-koto*—'pillow-talk'—means ordinary conversation such as might be held by a bed-side. *Makura kotoba* has been taken to signify an introductory ornamental word at the beginning of an *uta*, like a pillow for the substance of the *uta* to rest upon, or a similar word, more or less meaningless, introduced epithet-wise in the body of an *uta*, mainly for metrical purposes or as a rest for the following word. Whatever the origin of the name, *makura kotoba*, as the *Kogi* justly remarks, were not employed merely as headings nor as *chevilles*. They were a principal characteristic of archaic Japanese verse, and, in the longer lays at least, they often lend both force and beauty to the line. Of many, however, the meaning is obscure, though there are but few of which some sort of more or less plausible or traditional explanation cannot be given. Some, possibly, are survivals from a forgotten dialect, or mispronounced imitations of Ainu or Korean expressions, that have, homophonously, acquired a Japanese meaning, not seldom assisted by the Chinese characters of the script, used as phonetics only, yet invested with a signification.

Makura kotoba, in fine, may be described as fixed epithets, belonging mainly to the word following them, as a verbal decoration, but sometimes more or less necessary to the poem as well. Not unfrequently they are comparable with the Homeric epithet, but they lack all personification, and of the wealth of imagery characteristic of classical poetry the humbler verse of Japan cannot boast.

To render possible some approach to an appreciation of the part played by m. k. in archaic Japanese verse a number of typical instances of their use are subjoined. It will be seen that they may be employed quite otherwise than as mere epithets, and that they constitute a decoration

¹ Aston, *Hist. Jap. Lit.*

peculiar to *uta*, often, as already stated, not transferable to a translation though their value may be indirectly rendered in many cases.

Among *makura kotoba* used as epithets one of the commonest is *yasumishishi*, which may be rendered 'with peace and power who rulest', *debellator*, κοσμήτωρ, would be good Latin and Greek equivalents.' It is always found with *Ohokimi*, Great-Lord, an appellation, chiefly, of the Sovran. *Harunokino*, 'of' (or 'like') spring, ἐαρινός, is used with *kasumitaru*, 'misty' in lay^o105—'a misty day of spring.' Many m. k. end with this genitive particle *no*, a useful element to make up the five syllables of which the m. k. should properly consist—though some have only four, and a few have six. Other purely epithetical pillow-words are: *awayukino*, 'like foam and snow'; *awayukino kihe*, 'pass away like foam and snow'; *chirihijino*, 'like dust and dirt'—epithetical of the sentence, *kadzu ni mo aranu*, 'of no account,' i. e. mean, inferior, as this fleeting world is; *chihayaburu*, 'thousand-swift-brandish,' or, 'hilt-swift-brandish,' ἐκατόγχειρος, epithet of *Kami*, a god; *tamakiharu* (*tamashii kiharu*), epithet of *inochi*, life,—life of which the ψυχή has its appointed limit (but see list of *makura kotoba*); *kagaminasu*, 'mirror-like,' epithet of *miru*, see, and—a mirror being a precious object in ancient Japan—of *imo*, my love—my love, my treasure!; *kumōwinasu*, 'like where the clouds stay,'—*tohoku*, 'far off as the clouds that stay' (on the horizon); *mayobikino*, *like (my love's) painted eyebrows—applied to the arched form of a hill (Yokoyama); *mikemukafu*, 'what is offered to the Sovran,' epithet of *mi-wa*, a kind of sacred sake; *sabōhenasu*, 'like flies in the fifth (sa) month,' used with *sawaku*, 'make a din,'—be in a state of commotion, buzz, busy, as courtiers in the palace, &c.; *sanidzurafu*, 'red-stained,' ruddy, comely-looking, epithet of lover, mistress, girl, &c.; *awokumo*, κελαινεφής; *kamunagara*, ἰσόθεος; *harukazeno*, ἡνεμόεις, &c., &c. Other m. k. conceal an allusion or word-play. *Shiranukino*, 'of unknown flames,' as an epithet of Tsukushi may recall the story mentioned in the notes to lay 62, *akikusano*, 'like autumn herbs,' is used with *musubishi*, 'knotted,' but as

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homophonous with *musubi*, 'produce,' i. e. flower and fruit; *amatsumidzu*, 'heaven-water,' epithet of *afugite*, 'looking upwards,' i. e. towards the sky, hoping for rain in a time of drought; *Isonokami*, a tract in Yamato, where a place existed called Furu (*furu* = old), hence the m. k. is used with it allusively; *kamukazeno*, 'of divine wind (influence),' epithet of Ise, where the chief gods had their seat; *kari-ganêno*, 'like the wild-geese,' applied to *kitsugi*, 'come in due season' (as the wild-geese do); *fuyukomori*, 'winter-prisoned,' an epithet of spring regarded as confined or intercepted by winter; *kusamakura*, 'grass-pillow,' alluding to the hardships of travel—*tabi*, to which the m. k. is applied; *makane-fuku*, 'iron-smelt,' referring to the industry of Nifu, of which place it is an epithet; *amoritsuku*, 'from-heaven-descended-upon,' an epithet of Kaguyama, where the gods alighted from heaven; *kotosaheku*, 'mumble, stammer,' m. k. of *Kara* (China or Korea), the immigrants from which countries could only 'mumble' Japanese (compare Russian *nyemetsu*, dumb, as applied to Germans); *momotarazu*, 'less than a hundred,' a m. k. of *yaso*, eighty; *namayomino*, 'fresh savoury flesh'—as of a shell-fish (*kahi*), hence applied to *Kahi*, name of a province; *nanoriso* (*nam-i-nori* or 'wave-ride-seaweed'), involving the meaning *na nori so*, 'do not tell (my name)'—by a double quibble, *na* being the negative imperative particle, and also, 'name' (*nomen*); *oshiteruya* (for *oshi-tateru*, surge, topple), an epithet of *Naniha* (*nami-haya*), where the waves are swift; *tokoyomono*, 'a thing of the Eternal Land,' epithet of *tachibana*, orange, brought by Tazhima Mori from China (N. I. 86; see also lay 231); *ukzuranasu*, 'quail-like,' used with *ihahi-motohori*, 'wander about invoking the gods,' said of followers calling on their dead lord, with crouch and cry, like quails, amid the jungle; *wotomeraka*, 'Is it a maid?' m. k. of *Sodefuru yama* (hill name), because *sodefuru* means to 'wave the sleeves,' as one's love does when parting from her to go on an official journey.

Often the quibble is one of sound only; *Ahashima* (an island so named) with *ahazhi*, 'not-to-meet' (*zh* is *sh* voiced); *arikinuno*, fresh or fine garment, with *ari-ari*, *arite* (be,

be really); *ashitadzuno*, 'like reed-birds,' with *tadzutadzushi*, 'uncertain'; *atekawoshi* for *ajikayoshi* (meaning obscure), with *Chika no saki*—Cape Chika—here *j* is *ch* voiced; *chichinomino*, 'like fruit of maiden-hair tree,' with *chichi*, 'father'; so *hahasobano*, 'like *Quercus dentata*,' with *haha*, 'mother'; *hototogisu*, 'cuckoo,' with *hotohoto*, 'noise of knocking, tapping,' as at one's 'door by a lover or mistress.

Sometimes a whole phrase is used as a m.k.; as *imoga-iheni* (*imoga ihe ni*), 'to my lover's abode,' as a m.k. of *yuku*, 'to go'. Not infrequently the m.k. is applied to a part only of a word or place-name. Thus *soramitsu* (if taken to mean 'shining sky'), used with *Yamato*, applies only to *yama* (mountain); *suganomeno*, the *ne*, by sound-quibble applies to *ne* of *nemogoro* (*nengoro*), 'earnestly'; *akikazeno* ('like autumn-wind') used with *Yamabuki no se*, *Yamabuki* or *Kerria* stream, applies to the *buki* only (*fuki* voiced) 'to blow'; *amadzutafu* ('sky-traverse' or climb), used with *Higasa no yama* applies only to *Hi*=*hi*, sun.

The application is at times far-fetched, as when *ihabashino* ('like stepping-stones') is applied to *chikaki*, 'near,' because the stones are *near* each other; *awohatano* ('like a green banner,' probably corruption of *ayahatano*, 'like a banner of patterned stuff'), used with *Osaka* (little pass), *osaka* being confounded with *osoki* (*osohi-ki*), 'outer vestment' (*uhagi*).

Of not a few *makura kotoba* the explanations are quite speculative. Such are *chikayaburu*, *awoniyoshi*, *yamata-dzuno*, *tamakiharu*, *kagiroki*, *umasahafu*, *momoshikino*, *nikimurono*, *sasudakeno*, *soramitsu*, *tamadzusano*, *natsusobiku*, &c. I have contented myself with the meanings proposed in the *Kogi* and the *Kotoba no Idzumi*. Of the above and other m. k. all sorts of versions are possible owing to the distressing amount of homophony in archaic Japanese, and its still more perplexing frequency in modern Japanese. In the *Kotoba no Idzumi* there are, for instance, between thirty and forty words all pronounced *kaku*—some Japanese, some Japano-Chinese. In the domain of language Chinese is more and more victorious; of true Japanese none but the form-words, some particles and

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inflexional terminations, with a few common nouns and more or less auxiliary verbs, appear likely to survive.

Of Old Japanese the vocabulary was scanty. There were, in especial, few adjectives, and it was largely to supply this want, as well as to add variety and ornament, that *makura kotoba* were employed by the ancient poets, to some of whom Hitómáro, Akáhito, Omi ·Okura, and Yakámochi it is impossible to refuse the name. The earlier m. k. were, probably, all 'serious, they resumed the figurative diction of the time; even of the later ones in the Anthology few are intended as mere *kyôgen*—humorous quibbles. In later times, even as early as the age of Tsurayuki, the mere punning and sound quibbles became so numerous that poetry was replaced by dexterity in the manipulation of language.

Thus—to illustrate the foregoing remarks—*naga* was the only word for 'long'; *suganoneno*, *matsunoneno*, and similar expressions gave variety and embellishment—'long as rush-stem' (which is continually renewed), 'long as pine-trunk shall endure'; in this particular case the *ne* is often a sound quibble only, as with *nemogoro* (*nengoro*), but *nemogoro*=*ne mokoro*, like *ne*, 'enduring,' hence 'persevering,' hence 'earnest'; *kihe*, *ke*, was almost the only word expressing the idea of passing away, impermanency, and with it were combined similes involving allusions to running water, the foam on a swirling stream, the morning mists that soon disappear, falling snow that rapidly melts away, dew and rime that show only to vanish—similes due to Buddhist ideas; *shiku-shiku okitsunami*—'ripple-ripple-in-for-ever the waves from the deep sea'—was the equivalent not altogether unsuccessful of the ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα of Greek.

The *makura kotoba* offer the chief difficulty in translating the lays of the *Manyôshiu*. Even where they are fixed epithets and nothing more, they are but rarely susceptible of being rendered by a single compound-expression in English. Their value only can be conveyed, and that in a more or less roundabout way. When they involve a word-play, or apply to part of a place-name or word, with,

perhaps, a word-play thrown in, they cannot strictly be rendered at all; all that can be done is so to turn the Western version as to give the reader more or less of the impression the original may have made upon the Japanese hearer of the eighth century. The same must be said of such cases as (lay 105) *tsurugitachi shi*, where *tsurugitachi*, straight-bladed sword, is applied to *shi* as a mere word, not to Urashima, whom the *shi* grammatically represents.

§ XIV. COMPARISON OF CHINESE AND JAPANESE VERSE

Of extant *uta* anterior to those collected in the Anthology—there are 111 in the Annals and 132 in the Chronicles, most of which are single stanzas or very short poems—only a very few possess any literary merit. The two best, one taken from each compilation, will be found at the end of the lays—*infra*, p. 304. The *uta* are mostly love- or drinking-songs. The love-songs in the Annals, according to Prof. Chamberlain's translation, are not seldom coarse¹; those in the Chronicles are free from any such taint. A few of the lays are narrative or descriptive, one in the Chronicles (N. I. 402) seems to anticipate the *kaidô-kudari* (travel-lays) of the Anthology and later times.² A very few are slightly martial in tone; in few are there any references to myth or legend, the lay describing the embassy of Tajima (Tazhima) to China to fetch the orange-tree³ is, perhaps, historical. There is a loyal ode or two (N. II. 142) but no fervour of mikadoism is discernible anywhere in either the Annals or the Chronicles, the odes contain only passing allusions to natural beauty, but scarcely a line in praise of vernal blossoms or autumnal

¹ Not, I venture to think, so coarse as the Latin translations make them appear.

² In which the 'names of places along the route are ingeniously [by word-play] woven into the narrative in such a way as to suggest reflexions suitable to the circumstances' (Aston, *Hist. Jap. Literature*, p. 172). The *michiyuki* or journey-verses of the *Nô no utahi* are of similar character.

³ See N. I. 186—the *uta* is altogether Chinese in tone—and also lay 231.

tints, the stock themes of Japanese natural poetry and art, from the seventh to the twentieth century.

The themes of the Kojiki and Nihongi lays are then largely different from those of the Anthology, and when the same, the latter are differently treated. But the diction in all the lays is practically identical, the use of the word-plays similar, and there is no pillow-word in the Annals or Chronicles that is not found in the *Manyôshiu*. Very few of the lays collected in the latter are destitute of merit—though not seldom the merit is not great—and all are utterly free from coarseness of phrase or idea. It seems clear, therefore, that the compiler of the Anthology was chiefly influenced in his choice by purely literary considerations, and these could only be of a Chinese character. In the latter books especially, above all in the last four books, and more particularly in the compositions of Omi Okura and of Yakamochi himself the Chinese ‘climate,’ so to speak, of the verse is unmistakable, while the means of expression are native and its proper decoration is preserved. The pentasyllabics and heptasyllabics may have been an imitation of *shi* or Chinese poetry, where both, especially the former, are common, but not the alternation, nor the final heptasyllabic couplet of the *uta* which are not found in *shi*. The couplet briefly and often very effectively states the *kuse*—gist or conclusion or moral of the whole piece.

The oldest lays seem to have preserved what was, perhaps, the original native form of irregular verse; long ere the close of the Manyô period, however, most of the more ancient lays had become modified by continuous manipulation into a regular penta-heptasyllabic form. No attempt was made to introduce the Chinese decoration of rhyme, though rhyme is not, by any means, impossible in Old Japanese. Word-juggling was probably an imitation, in part at least, of Chinese devices, and so to some extent were the prefatal epithet-like introductions to words or even parts of words, as in lay 210¹, where He[guri] yama is

¹ Both in the Annals and the Chronicles similar introductions are found in the lays to this very syllable *he* (fold), part of the hill-name Heguri. A sort of like preface exists in the Ode on the Value of

brought in at the end of a long epithetical exordium or introduction.

The *makura kotoba* or pillow-words appear to be indigenous to Japan. Some of the allusive ones such as *shiranuhi* (lay 61) can be partially paralleled in Chinese poetry; the *Lisao*¹, for instance, is full of historical and mythical allusions, but these are not contained or resumed in a single expression. Most Chinese epithetical words, like the Japanese, refer to history, mythology, popular customs and traditions, and natural phenomena or events. The metaphors, similes and figurative expressions generally of both poesies are drawn from like sources, but though resemblant are not by any means identical in form or content. When the oldest of the *Manyô* lays, as we have them, were written down, perhaps as early as the sixth century, it is certain that Chinese learning was not unknown at the Japanese Court; to persons of culture in the seventh century Chinese literature must have been familiar. The poetry of the *Shih King*, of the latter portions of the Chou and earlier Han periods, and of the first century of the great Thang dynasty covering the period of production of the earlier poems of *Lipeh*² and *Tufu*³ must have been known to *Yakamochi* and his brother poets.

Nevertheless in the *Manyôshû* I find very little real resemblance to the poetry of ancient and mediæval China—so far as my limited knowledge of Chinese poetry extends.

Friendship in the *Shih King* (no. 5 of second decade of second part of Lesser Festal Odes).

¹ The *Lisao* 離騷 ('Removal of Sorrow') was composed by *Khü Yüan* (or *Khü Ping*) in the fourth century B.C. to 'convey instruction' to his Sovereign's mind' (in the words of *Mayers*)—'who had unjustly dismissed him—by clothing the lessons of antiquity in a lyrical form'. A complete translation of this fine poem, and of the *Nine Odes* of similar import by the same disgraced minister, by *Pfizmaier*, will be found in the *Denk. Kais. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, Wien, 1852.

² A.D. 699-762. The most famous of Chinese poets. *Mayers*, No. 361, *Giles's Biograph. Dict.*, No. 1181, and *Poésie de l'époque des Thang*, by the Marquis D'Hervey-St-Denys.

³ Contemporary with, and inferior only to, *Lipeh*. See *Mayers*, No. 680; *Giles*, loc. cit., 2058; and *Poésie des Thang*.

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The language of China is impersonal like that of Japan, and this identity of form involves similarity not only of phraseology but of treatment. But the themes differ considerably. The ancestral and sacrificial poems of the *Shih King* are not paralleled in the *Manyôshiu*; the social and historic events of China, so often the subjects of Chinese poetry, were quite different in character from those of Japan; the remonstrances addressed to the Chinese Emperor or Prince were never addressed to the Mikado, who was not an officer of Thien (Heaven) but a direct descendant of the gods, an incarnation of very godhead, who could do no wrong. Martial preparations and expeditions, weddings, wine feasting, praise of hunting with dogs, abstractions, evils of slander and false friendship, incompetent officials and similar subjects are Chinese but not Japanese themes, while yearnings of parted lovers, longings for home on the part of officials dispatched to distant posts, are common themes of the poets in both countries. Even the nature-subjects of the two poesies were not alike. Spring and autumn, the time of sowing and the time of gathering were, of course, subjects of song in both lands, but in China the peach blossom, in Japan the wild-cherry blossom was the symbol of spring, and in the Middle Kingdom the *momiji* or ruddiness of autumn foliage was much less an object of poetic admiration than in Japan. The didactic and Buddhist pieces of the latter book of the *Manyôshiu* are distinctly Chinese in thought and treatment. But the one or two *märchen* (the story of Uráshima, lay 105, the Tanabata legend, lay 102, and, perhaps, the tale of the Maid of Unahi) of Chinese birth are dealt with in an original manner. On the whole the poetry of the *Manyôshiu* appears to me more poetic than any Chinese poetry I have read. It is less sustained, less intellectual, less varied, in some way less interesting, but we have only a very small body of Japanese poetry anterior to the ninth century to compare with a very great volume of Chinese verse. In the love-lays of the *Manyôshiu*, in especial, I think we find more grace and feeling, though perhaps, in a sense, more conventionality than in the work of the Thang poets. Much

of the advantage of Japanese poetry is due to the immense superiority of ancient Japanese as a means of expression to Chinese. Chinese is a skeletal tongue, a staccato sequence of formless vocables or double-vocables, brief without being terse, for the reader is left largely to guess the relations between the ideas expressed, and depending very much upon the visual comprehension of the characters. The jointures and articulations of the phrase or sentence are bare intervals leaving open crevices in the construction which, to a Western reader, remain unsightly. A Chinese poem, in a word, is rather a collection of notes for a poem, or a telegraphic summary of one, than a completed work.

Far other is the case of Old Japanese poetry. Every *uta* is a complete construction, all the elements of which are deftly combined into a single whole. It is, indeed, too complete, the sentences run into each other as the clauses of the sentence do, and the result is sometimes a certain clumsiness and confusion of style—the defect of Japanese verse, in a word, is the opposite of that found in the verse of the Middle Kingdom. The Chinese script in which the lays were of necessity written down is an obstruction, a veil, not a visual aid, a visual part of the verse as in Chinese. The allusions are brought in with more grace and skill, the suggestiveness is finer, the crude commonplace of Chinese is not absent but is less frequent, the figurative language has more soul and feeling, and the decoration is, usually, more suitable and more pure. The partial inflexion of the Japanese verb gives a pliancy and a sense of life absent from Chinese, the particles and expletives are more frequent and varied, the whole language is more plastic, more sensitive to the thought of him who uses it. Even the word-jugglery, always unattractive to us, is least so in Old Japanese, where it is used mainly as a decorative means of combining several values, often of a pivotal character, in a single expression. Lastly, the *makura kotoba*, as already explained in the section dealing with them, at least approach the dignity and beauty of the Homeric epithet, nearly all of them could easily be rendered in epic Greek compounds, and of themselves differentiate the poetry

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of Old Japan from that of China, much to the advantage of the former.

Two instances may be given illustrative of the foregoing remarks, showing the poverty of Chinese side by side with the fullness of the island-tongue.

明	ming	漬	shing
月	yüeh	泉	shuan
松	sung	石	shih
間	kien	上	shang
照	chao	流	liu

ming yüeh sung kien chao } Chinese.
tshing shuan shih shang liu }

meio getsu shô kan shô } Japano-Chinese.
sei sen seki jô ryu }

aka[ru] tsuki[ha] sugi[no] ahida[ni] ter[u] } Pure Japanese.
kiyo[ki] idzumi[wo] ishi[no] uhe[ni] naga[su] }

The meaning is: [The] bright moon shining through [the] pine [tree] [with its] clear light-flood [the] rocky surface o'erflows.

In the pure Japanese rendering the portions in brackets show the grammatical additions. A similar function is that of the brackets in the English translation.

The second example is :

池山 chi getsu zen tô jô } Japano-Chinese.
月光 'san kwô kotsu sei riku }

漸忽
東西 Ike[ni] tsuki[ha] yaya
上落 higashi[wo] nobor[u]
yama[ha] hikari[ni] tachimachi[ni] } Pure Japanese.
nishi[ni] otor[u]

[In the] lake [the] moon slowly ascends [the] east,
[on the] hill [the] glow quickly westwards sinks.

The words and inflexions in brackets are not in the Chinese text at all; they are partly suggested by position, but have for the most part to be supplied by the reader's own intelligence.

The latter example is a good instance of the *visual* decoration more or less characteristic of some kinds of Chinese poetry. 池 (lake), it will be noticed, is opposed

to 山 (hill), 月 (moon) to 光 (sun-glow), 漸 (slowly) to 忽 (at once), 東 (east) to 西 (west), 上 (ascend) to 落 (sink). And this answers to the *kuse* or meaning of the poem. The spectator is supposed to be contemplating the image of the moon reflected on the waters of the lake, at full moon as the orb rises in the east, while the glow of the setting sun is disappearing in the west—the whole picture being mirrored on the lake's surface.¹

§ XV. THE ANCIENT LEARNING²

In explaining the meanings and settling the *kana* (syllabic) spelling of ancient words, Keichiu, the Nániha priest, led the way. He was followed by Wokabe, who, in his turn, was succeeded by Motowori, both of whom, especially the latter, made great advances in the study of words, though they were far from exhausting the subject. It would seem that the need of some syllabic method of spelling words arose in China, where at an early date it became necessary to transliterate, as well as to translate, the Scriptures of Buddhism. It may be thought, (pursues the author of the *Kogi*, with a certain humility,) that it is not altogether permissible to dignify the study of the language of the *Manyōshū*, a work of Fujihara and Nara times, as a part of the Ancient Learning, or, to seek in it the true Japanese spirit of the Age of the Gods. Chinese learning was first introduced into Japan through Kudara (a southern state of Korea), in the sixteenth year of the Mikado Ojiu (A.D. 285), and by the same route, Buddhism was introduced some two centuries later. Under the Fujihara and Nara dynasties Confucianism and Buddhism became the two most important agencies of the time. It was these influences that shaped the forms and ideas of the

¹ I wish to add that in relation to the verse of the *Manyōshū* I have collected numerous parallel or analogous passages from Western literature, ancient and modern, of which I have given a very few, by way of illustration, in the notes to the lays.

² A summary of one of the sections of Kamochi's *Sōron*. It is well to remember that this was written during the last decades of the Shōgunate.

age, and one would expect to find them so predominant in the poetry of the Manyôshiu' period that it would be vain to search for any trace of the national temper of Japan in the productions of the authors of the poems contained in that Anthology. Such, however, was not the result of this contact with the civilization of China; and one may safely look for the ancient ideas of Japan in the Manyôshiu lays.' The poets and philosophers of the Fujihara and Nara periods were, no doubt, admirers and students both of Buddhism and Confucianism; and were besides deeply impressed by Chinese learning. One of the most eminent of the Manyôshiu poets, Yamanohe Okura (eighth century), has confessed in some of his productions his reverent devotion to the new religion and the new learning. Nevertheless his poems are pervaded by the ancient Japanese spirit. In lay 68 he gives eloquent expression to the pride he felt in his country and its past. As an alternative translation, the following lines are given:—

From the Gods' own foretime
 hath run the ancient story
 how heaven-shining
 Yamato hath been ever
 of lands the fairest,
 of lands the most divine,
 'in speech most em'nerst
 of all the lands that under
 broad heaven lie.—
 so have our fathers told us,
 and in this age we,
 before our own eyes see we
 how true the tale is,
 and with our own souls know we
 how true the tale is!

Thus the ancient spirit of Dai Nippon was fully alive in the Manyôshiu age. But from that period onwards a gradual change took place. Foreign ideas more and more predominated, and the poetic impulse found a less and less perfect expression in accordance with the pure primitive genius of the people. The poems of the *Kokinshiu* (Songs

Old and New¹), and of later collections, departed in an increasing degree from the temper and form of the *Manyô-shû*, to which we must look if we wish to know what was the true spirit of the earlier time.

What was that spirit? The Lord of Chikuzen (Okura) shall again tell us in a lay, nevertheless, of a didactic kind, and founded, as the preface to it states, upon Chinese ethics. It is in the sixty-second of the long lays of the *Manyôshû* that we meet with the following pithy description of the true duty of a Japanese:—

Heavenwards mounting,
thou might'st thine own will follow,
but earth thou dwell'st on
where ay the Sovran ruleth,
and sun and moon 'neath,
as far and wide as hover
the clouds of heaven,
down to the tract so scanty
the toad's realm is,
wherever sun or moon shines,
allwhere the land
our Sovran's sway obeyeth.

The philosophy of 'China teaches that any one who is sufficiently virtuous may become the chief of the State. Not only is this not the Japanese ideal, but our doctrine is directly opposed to it. The Mikado is Sovran because he is Sovran by divine right, not by divine appointment, nor by the grace of God, but by right of divine descent, and his people owe him loyalty because of his descent, not because they appreciate his virtue. Such is the true motive of all Japanese feeling and action. In their exposition and praise of this motive our poets show their patriotism; patriotism is loyalty to the Sovran, for Sovran and country are one. So it has ever been from the beginning of our land—the Sovran is born one and the people are his servants. This is the unique character of the land and people of Japan. A quasi-rhyme runs:—

¹ Or 'Garner of Japanese Verse, Old and New', see *infra*, p. 378.

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umi yukaba mi-dzuku kabane
yama yukaba kusamusu kabane
ohokimi no he ni koso shiname. (Lay 227.)

We, too, so serve our Sovran,
 serve him at sea,
 our sodden corpses leaving
 to the salt sea leaving,
 our Sovran serve by land,
 our corpses leaving
 amid the wild-waste bushes,
 rejoiced to die
 in our dread Sovran's cause.

Such are the lessons of the Ancient Learning.

It is a foreign (i.e. Chinese) delusion that the Sovran ought to humiliate himself by assuming the designation of a 'virtueless man,' as the Chinese do who dub themselves *kwajin*, 'men of little.' The Japanese Sovran is a monarch by ancestry, and has no need to be humble. Our country, unlike other countries (i.e. China), scorns to boast of itself as a Middle Land, the centre of civilization, and to dub other lands as barbarous. There is no object in contrasting our land with other lands. 'Old names for Japan, it is true, are Ohoyâshima, the 'Great Eight Islands'; Toyo-ashihara, 'Rich Reed-Plain'; Midzuho no kuni, 'Land of Shining Ears,' &c. But these names express the gratitude of the people to their land; they do not bear a comparative meaning. They have no relation to Chinese philosophy or other foreign doctrines (Buddhism), as some teachers conceive; they do but state the unquestioned excellence of Dai Nippon, as known and admitted from earliest times.

§ XVI. SHORT BIOGRAPHIES OF THE PRINCIPAL POETS

Of KAKINOMOTO NO ASOMI HITÔMARO 人丸,—the Ason Hitômaro of the Kaki (persimmon—Diospyros, *kaki*-tree)—little is known. In the *Jimmei-jisho* (Dict. of Nat. Biography) we find the following account of him :—
 'His family is said to have traced its descent from

Ametarashi Hikokuni Oshihito no mikoto (a son of the Mikado Kôshô, B.C. 475-393, according to the Kojiki). Another account makes him descend from the Mikado Bidatsu (572-85). He served under the Queen-Regnant Jitô (A.D. 690-6) and the Mikado Mommu (697-707). As to the ranks and offices he held nothing is clearly known. He was a fine poet, and is known as the 'Sage of the World (or Age) of Poesy.' In company with Prince Nihitabe (son of the Mikado Temmu, A.D., 673-86) he travelled through Kii, Ise, Kamiwoka and Yôshinu, as well as Afumi (Ômi), Ihami, and Tsukushi. He composed poems on every place he came to. Towards the close of life he lived in Ihami and died there. His tomb is shown in Sohegami in Yamato.'

Mr. Chamberlain adds a story, derived no doubt from his name Kakinomoto ('Under the persimmon tree'), of a warrior, Ayabe, who found a child of more than mortal splendour under one. On being asked who he was, the child answered, 'No father or mother have I, but the moon and winds obey me, and in poetry I find my joy.' The boy was adopted and became the prince of Japanese poets. If the story is not the outcome of the name, the name is of the story. In the short lays following lay 30 his death is mentioned, his own feelings on its approach, and those of his wife and some of his friends. Lays 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, are the work of Hitômaro.

YAMABE NO SUKUNE AKÁHITO 赤人.

According to the *Nihongi*, Wodate was the first *mura-zhi* of the Yamabe house—so called after the company of mountain-forest wardens created in A.D. 485. The Mikado Temmu (673-86) added the rank of Sukune. There seems to be some doubt whether Yamabe should not rather read 'Yama' only. The *Jimmei-jisho* states that Akáhito and Hitômaro are usually bracketed together, as equal in poetic rank, under the expression 'Yama-Kaki'. At the beginning of Jinki (724-9) he accompanied the Mikado (Shômu) to Kii, later he resorted to the hot wells of Iyo. He afterwards visited the Eastland, and it was on this

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journey that he composed the well-known stanza on the view of Fuji from Tago Bay¹.

OHOTOMO NO SUKUNE YAKAMOCHI 家持—Yakamochi, a noble (Sukune) of the Ohotomo clan.

In the eighth volume of the Anthology there are four short lays by Yakamochi ascribed to the eighth year of Temp'yô (736). These seem to be his earliest efforts there preserved. Up to that time he had held no office, and was doubtless quite a youth.

Five years later, in 13 Temp'yô (741), we find three lays of his, in answer to two of his brother Fumimochi in praise of the cuckoo. He was then called an *uchitoneri*. In 16 Temp'yô (744) he wrote six short lays on the death of Asaka no miko, a son of the Mikado Shômu (724-48); he is still designated *uchitoneri*. The *toneri* were personal attendants of noble birth upon the Mikado and Princes of the Blood. There were three ranks of them—upper, middle, and lower; the middle, or *uchitoneri*, were at first ninety in number—royal pages, they might be called—and were first created by the Mikado Mommu (697-707).

In 17 Temp'yô, Yakamochi was promoted from *toneri* to the lower division of the junior-fifth rank. In 18 Temp'yô (746) an office within the Palace was allotted to him and he was made Etchû no kami. In 1 Shôhō (749) he was placed in the upper division of the junior-fifth rank and made a *shônagon* (junior Counsellor). In 6 Shôhō (754) he attained a subordinate position in the War Office, and a higher one in 1 Hôji (757). In 2 Hôji (758) he was granted the rank of Inaba no kami, and in 8 Hôji (764) that of Harima no kami. In 1 Keiun (767) he was made a *shônî* (a middle rank officer) of the Dazaifu (Tsukushi garrison), in 7 Hôki (770) an official of the Mimbu (Home Office) and advanced to the lower division of the senior-fifth rank, in 2 Hôki (771) to the lower division of the junior-fourth rank, in 7 Hôki (776) he was created Ise no kami, in 8 Hôki (777) promoted to upper division of the junior-fourth rank and afterwards made a *Daishi*—Great

¹ A translation is given on p. 308, No. 19.

Teacher, an honour conferred by the Mikado upon learned or virtuous persons; in 9 Hôki he was advanced to lower division of senior-fourth rank, in 1 Yenreki to upper division of senior-fourth rank, and then to lower division of junior-third rank. In 2 Yenreki (or Yenriyaku) he was made a *chiunagon*, and in the eighth month of 4 Yenreki (Sept. 785) he died. His claim to descent from the Ohotomo ancestor does not appear to have been recognized, for the common term *shisu* is used (in the *Zoku Nihongi*) to signify his death. However, he must have been of good stock—his grandfather Yasumaro and his father Tabiudo were both *Dainagon*. After his death and before he was buried, the murder of a *chiunagon*, Fujihara Tanetsugu, became known, and apparently Yakamochi was suspected of having been concerned in the crime. The result was that his children were banished. But the truth becoming known—namely, that Ohotomo Tsugibito and others were the real murderers, the family was reinstated. Closing the last volume of the Anthology, we find Yakamochi's short lay composed in 3 Hôji (759) which was recited or chanted at a banquet held at the residence of Inaba. Between that date and his death, twenty-six years later, he must have composed many poems. But there was no continuator of the *Manyôshû*, and they are, unfortunately, lost.

Most of Yakamochi's productions are excellent, if slightly elaborate. His poetical correspondence with Ikenushi is a most interesting example of the literary life of the Court and official world in the eighth century. There can be no doubt that we owe the Anthology to his enthusiasm and literary discernment; his own numerous contributions—they almost fill the last four of the twenty volumes—never sink to mediocrity according to the accepted standards of Japanese poetry.

Of YAMANOHE NO [OMI] OKURA 臣 億 良—the Minister Okura (Little grange?) of Yamanohe (Uplands) family—little is known.

In 1 Daihō (A. D. 701) he joined the embassy to China of

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Ahada no Ason Mabito (the true-man, ἐνανήρ, Ahada (Millet-field) of Ason rank) as *shoroku*, under-secretary. In 7 Wadô (714) he is mentioned as promoted to the lower division of the junior-fifth rank. In 2 Reiki he was made Hôki no kami and in 5 Yôrô (721) he returned to Court, doubtless much to his own satisfaction, and held an office in the Eastern Palace. His contributions to the Anthology are not numerous, but display, perhaps, more enthusiasm than any of the other poems comprised in the collections. Conf. lay 68 and notes thereto.

The above short biographies of the four principal poets of the Anthology are summarized partly from the *Jimmei-jisho*, partly from the *Kogi*. Their historicity is doubtful enough, for in Japan history and biography, past or present, are anything but critical, but, even when not actual, they do, we may be sure, closely imitate fact. Of Yakamochi, as the compiler or the principal compiler of the Anthology, a fuller account is given than of the others.

§ XVII. NOTICES OF THE PRINCIPAL COMMENTATORS

TACHIBANA NO MOROYE 諸兄 (originally Katsuraki) was the son of Minu, chief minister of the Jibusho (Board of Public Worship), and grandson of Naniha Miko. In Wadô (708-715) he gained the lower division of the junior-fifth rank, and in 1 Hôji (757) he died, aged 74, with the rank of upper division of the senior-first rank. He was a great student of ancient Japanese verse, and is supposed to have had a hand in the compilation of the Anthology. His accomplishments made him a favourite with four Mikados, and in 8 Wadô (715) he obtained the restoration to his family of the surname Tachibana (orange-bush), which had been bestowed upon one of his ancestors by a former Mikado as a reward for his services, the Mikado saying, as he handed a young orange-bush to the recipient, that so beautiful-flowered and fruited, so lovely and enduring a tree, well represented the devotion and loyalty he desired to acknowledge. (*Jimmei-jisho*.)

MINAMOTO SHITAGAFU (or JUN) 源順 was the grandson of a Dainagon. In 5 Tenryaku (951) Shitágafu, with four others (known as the Nashitsubo or Pear-tub Committee), was charged with the preparation of a new Anthology (*Gosen Wakashū*—After Selection of Japanese Verse), in twenty vols. In 1 Ōwa (961) he was made Idzumi no kami, and later Noto no kami. He died, aged 73, in 1 Yeikwan (983). The authorship of the *Taketori* story is credited to him. Of the earliest Japanese dictionary (a sort of encyclopaedia, still of great use), the *Wamyō Ruijishō*, he was the author¹. (*Jimmei-jisho*.)

Of SENGAKU 仙覺 the family name and homeplace are unknown. We hear of him first at the New Buddha Hall (Shin Shaka Dō) at Kamakura. He seems to have been a *Kenritsushi* (commissioner or master in criminal law), but he soon acquired fame as an expounder of Old Japanese literature and as a commentator on the text of the Anthology. During the reign of Kameyama (1260–74) he rectified the extant *ten* (glosses) and offered the results of his labours to the retired Mikado Saga II (reigned 1243–46). His remains were collected by a priest of Fujisawa, Yua (?), who published them under the name *Shirin Saiyōshō* ('Leaves from a Forest of Words'), a work containing useful notes on various old words and forms of script. The date of the postscript is 1349. His work on the Anthology, called *Manyōshū Shō* (20 vols.), is exegetical, and preserves portions of many *Fudoki* (Histories of localities, customs, &c.) now lost. It is the earliest complete commentary on the *Manyōshū*. (*Jimmei-jisho*.)

KEICHIU 契沖 was the son of a clansman of Awoyama, the daimyō of Amagasaki in Settsu. He was born in 1640, and at an early age gave proofs of a marvellous memory, learning the *Hiyakunin issai* in ten days when only five years old. At eleven he entered the monastery of Myōhō (Enlightened or Illustrious Doctrine) at Imasato, near Osaka. Later he took the tonsure and migrated to the

¹ Conf. § V of this Introduction, and the Introduction to the *Taketori*, *infra*.

famous monastery of Mt. Kôya, in Kishiu. In 1662 he again changed his abode. He then took to travelling about the country studying Japanese, Chinese, and Buddhism; finally he almost confined himself to the Ancient Learning. The fame of his scholarship came to the ears of the Prince of Mito, who invited him to Yedo, and requested him to complete a commentary on the *Manyôshiu* which had been begun by another scholar. Keichiu refused both invitation and request, but of his own motion wrote the *Manyô Daishôki* in twenty volumes ('Manyô-Notes by another craftsman'), a work full of learning, good sense, and acumen. He died in 1701 in a village near Osaka, having continually declined the repeated invitations to Yedo sent him by the Prince of Mito. (*Jimmei-jisho*.) See also Sir E. Satow's paper in *T. A. S. J.*

KAMO (or WOKABE) MABUCHI 加茂真淵 prided himself on his descent from the god who, under the figure of an eight-clawed crow, acted as guide to Jimmu in his invasion of Yamashiro (N.I. 115). He lived in the county of Fuchi in Tôtomi, whence his name. His father was warden of the shrine of Kamo. In 1733, being thirty-six years old, he went to Kyôto and became a pupil of Kada Atsumaro. After his master's death in 1736 he removed to Yedo, where he spent the remainder of his days in the acquisition of learning. Chikage, the author of the *Riyakuge* (so well known to students of Japanese), was his pupil. He died in 1770. He was one of the greatest of the Shintô revivalists. His chief works on the *Manyôshiu* are the *Manyô shiusui Hiyakushuge* in three vols.; the *Kwanjikô* (a glossary of *Makuru kotoba*); and the *Manyôshiukô* (Commentary on the *Manyôshiu*). (This is not mentioned in the *Gunsho*.) Mabuchi died in 1770. (*Jimmei-jisho*, *Gunsho Ichiran*, and Sir E. Satow's article on the Revival of Pure Shintau, *T. A. S. J.*, vol. iii¹.)

¹ In Sir E. Satow's valuable paper a full account will be found of the Revivalist leaders Kada, Motowori, Mabuchi, and Hirata, of their works, and of the epoch-making movement itself, of which they were the soul.

TACHIBANA (or KATÔ) CHIKAGE 千蔭 was the son of a clansman of Ohowoka, Echizen no kami, who was a police officer in Yedo. Chikage at an early age began to study the Ancient Learning, and later became a pupil of the celebrated Kamo Mabuchi. He succeeded to his father's office, but without abandoning his studies, and resigned after an illness that overtook him in 8 Temmei (1788). He died the 2nd of 9th month of 5 Bunkwa (October 2, 1808). His principal work is the, *Manyôshû Riyakuge*, Short Commentary on the *Manyôshû*, a mediocre performance entirely superseded by the *Kogi*. (*Jimmei-jisho*.)

§ XVIII. SHORT NOTICE OF THE AUTHOR OF THE KOGI

The following biography of the author of the *Manyôshû Kogi* 古義,¹ extracted for me by Mr. Kumagusu Minakata from the *Kokugakusha Denki Shûsei* 國學者傳記集成, 1903, by Ohogawa Shigerro 大川茂雄 and Minami Shigeki 南茂樹 (Biographies of Japanese Men of Learning), may be found interesting as a record of the life, ways, and surroundings of a scholar of the close of the Tokugawa Shôgunate. KAMOCHI MASAZUMI 鹿持雅澄 was born in 1791, and died in 1858 in the sixty-eighth year of his age (according to the Japanese fashion of counting the years of life), in the village of Kamochi², in the district of Irino 人野 in the county of Hata 幡多 in the province of Tosa [in Shikoku]. His clan was Fujiwara, and his family name was Yanagimura 柳村 or Kamochi. His common name 通林 was Genda 源太, afterwards changed to 藤犬 Tôda. He was descended from a Kuge (Court noble) named Masakazu 雅量, of the Asukai family 飛鳥井, of the Fujiwara clan, having the official title of *shôgun*

¹ I have in this and previous sections given the Chinese script of the names because of their frequent occurrence in Japanese literature.

² As written, Shikamochi.

小將 or general, who fled from Kiyôto during the civil war of Ônin 應仁, 1467-77, to Tosa, where he settled in the above-mentioned village of Kamochi. His father's name (the author of the *Kogi*) was Yanagimura Korenori 柳村惟則. He changed the name to the original one, Kamochi, which, in turn, his son Masayoshi 雅慶 changed to the earlier one of Asukai. Masayoshi's son (grandson of the author of the *Kogi*) Masafuru 雅古 is still alive (1903).

Of Masazumi's childhood nothing particular is known. He entered upon his studies at the age of seventeen or eighteen. In Chinese letters his master was one Nakamura; he studied the Japanese classics under a teacher named Miyaji 宮地, and the art of writing under another named Shimomoto 下元. He then devoted himself entirely to the study of ancient Japanese learning. As he lived, however, far from any centre of culture, and was besides so poor that he could not buy books, he was obliged to borrow them from his friends. The Karô (chief Councillor) of his clan, Fukuoka, hearing of his poverty and diligence, opened his library to him, and assisted him further by buying for his use books not contained in his library. Thus Masazumi made great progress, and was engaged as teacher by many of the samurai of the clan, some of whom afterwards took a prominent part in the Restoration of Ishin¹. Among such were Takeichi Hampeida 武牛半手太 and Yoshimura Toritarô 吉村寅太郎. At a later period he taught the former daimio of Tosa, and a collateral member of the family (*renshi* 連枝). He also corresponded with many learned men throughout the empire, especially with Shimizu Hamaomi 清水濱臣, a famous classicist of the day. As his fame grew, he was rewarded by his daimio with presents of money or rice. He was made tutor to his lord's sons, and a professor in the provincial college Bumbukwan

¹ Of 1868. The expression is borrowed from Chinese literature.

文武館. He was also granted the rank of samurai. The earlier half of his life was passed in such poverty that he could only purchase a day's supply of rice at a time. One day, while going to the rice-store with a little money in his pocket, he met an old flower-seller. Suddenly attracted by the flowers, he spent all his money in buying them, quite forgetting that he would have nothing to eat that day. On another occasion the thatch of his house was blown off and the rain poured through, but he only shifted his seat and continued his studies. He would pound his rice with one foot whilst at work on his books, and go on pounding long after the rice was free from bran. He held books in such honour that he would never place them on the matting of the floor; in lecturing to his pupils he always bade them never to put their books elsewhere than on *zen* or *sambo* (low tables) if there was no proper desk at hand. He was a genuine scholar¹, utterly lacking all worldly craft. His pupils, time and again, found him employment, but he could never keep it. His poverty passed human thought; when supported by Fukuoka, the latter had to supply him with brush and ink.

The following is a list of his principal works:—

萬葉集古義 *Manyôshiu Kogi*: The *Manyôshiu* explained according to its ancient (true) meaning.

Manyôshiu 品物解 *Himbutsukai*: Explanations of the objects (fauna and flora) mentioned in the *Manyôshiu*.

Manyôshiu 吾所國分 *Meisho Kuniwake*: Arrangement under their respective provinces of the places mentioned in the *Manyôshiu*.

Manyôshiu 人物傳 *Jimbutsu Den*: Lives of Persons referred to in the *Manyôshiu*.

Manyôshiu 名所考 *Meishokô*: Notes on the Places mentioned in the *Manyôshiu*.

Manyôshiu Makura kotoba Kai: Explanations of the *makura kotoba* (pillow-words) in the *Manyôshiu*.

He was the author also of a number of treatises on

¹ The stories sound like Chinese compliments rather than realities.

cviii INTRODUCTION TO THE MANYÔSHIU

literary composition, of an annotated edition of the *Tosa Nikki*, of a commentary on the *Nihongwaishi*, and of various other essays and short treatises on points of Japanese (as distinct from Chinese) learning, none of which are known to the present writer.

The *Kogi* was the *magnum opus* of the author, who devoted all his life to the study of the Manyôshiu, and is by far the best and most elaborate commentary on that Anthology. It was published by Imperial authority in 1879 under the direction of the Kunaishô (Ministry of the Imperial Household), in a magnificently printed edition, now very rare, comprising all the labours of Masazumi on the subject. A full description of the edition will be found in § II of this Introduction.

POSTSCRIPT

It should have been stated in the above Introduction that in the translations of the Lays the syllabic metre of the Japanese text is exactly followed.



kike

do

aka

nu

shi

zen

on

kyô

VOX VERA NATURAE

MANYÔSHIU

BOOK I, PART I

1

By the Sovran¹ at his palace of Asákura² in Hátsuse
whence he ruleth all the land.

O maiden bearing thy little basket, O fine thy basket— O maiden bearing thy bamboo truel, O fine thy truel ³ — maiden wandering upon the knoll-side gathering wild herbs for sallets—	o'er wide Yamato ⁴ , land of shining ⁵ moun- tains, true lord am I and Sovran, allwhere are men to me obeisant, men everywhere to my will bow them, wherefore thou'lt husband call me, and name and homoplace tell me ⁶ .
---	---

The lay is addressed to a girl the Sovran meets out hunting, who is gathering potherbs or salads on the hill-side—perhaps an *uneme* or lady-in-waiting on a hunt for herbs and simples among the hills near City-Royal, a dissipation in which the early Mikados themselves often indulged. The ancient Japanese do not appear to have cultivated any vegetables. There is no envoy. Or the whole of the first part of the lay may be a preface to *ko* maiden, and so merely epithetical. [I use throughout City-Royal to designate Miyako, the Grand House-Place or Capital.]

¹ Yûryaku (A. D. 457–9). The Residence at Asákura did not last beyond his reign. In early days each new Sovran built himself a new palace. (See Aston's *Shintô*.) I take my

history, as the Kogi does, from the Kojiki (Ancient Annals), Nihongi (Chronicles of Japan), and the Zoku Nihongi (Continuation of the Nihongi). The latter two alone have any pretensions, and these not considerable, to historical accuracy, but at least their narrative *resembles* the truth.

² Asákura, as written, means hemp-grange. Hátsuse (in Yamato) is variously written, probably it means a head of waters, a river source, or perhaps a streamy land.

³ In text *fukushi* or *fugushi* = *hoguse*, *hera*.

⁴ Yamato, 'confer' Nagato, Yedo, *minato* (a haven, i. e. water-gateway),* may mean a pass or passage through or among mountains. The province is encircled by hills. But we do not know how far ancient place-names were script or phonetic alterations of older forms of Japanese, or even of Korean (invented anew or imported like Danish and Saxon names in England) or Ainu designations. (See K. 23, also Chamberlain's 'Geographical Nomenclature, &c., of Japan viewed in Light of Ainu Studies' (*Mém. Lit. Coll. Imp. Univ. Japan*, No. I).)

⁵ This may be taken as the value of the curious m. k. (*makura kotobu* or pillow-word, see List in volume of Texts) *soramitsu*. A more usual meaning contains an allusion to part of the speech of Jimmu, the first earthly Sovran, to his elder brother (N. I. 110): 'I have heard from the Ancient of the Sea that in the East is a fair land encircled on all sides by blue mountains, and I think that this land will be suitable for the extension of the Heavenly Task [entrusted to me] so that its glory should fill the Universe. It is doubtless the centre of the world [a Chinese phrase]. Why should we not proceed thither and make it the Capital. The person [god?] who flew down there was Nigihaya-hi (soft-swift-sun).' The 'fair land' is Yamato which the god saw (*mitsu*) as he descended through the air (*sora*), or *mi-tsu* is the fair goal (of his descent in the famous 'rock-boat'). But the interpretation as 'shining' or 'glowing' or 'skyey' seems more correct. Japanese etymology, however, is a most unsatisfactory science.

⁶ The rendering is somewhat too imperative. In the original we have the slightly precatative particle *ne* (*negu*, *negafu*). Up to the close of the seventh century Japan was but little sinicized, women were more on an equality with men—in 600 years before the ninth century there were eight empresses—and the Mikados were not secluded—a practice of much later origin.

In fact the less real power they had the more they—or rather their office—were revered, but there seems to have been little reality even in the reverence. It was an extremely useful political asset for any party in power.

The greater deference paid to women is well shown in the account of the interview between the mikado and the moon-maiden in the story of Taketori *infra*.

During the Residence at Wokamoto in Takechi.¹

2

A Royal Lay upon a View of the Land from Mount Kagu.

Land of Yamato!	allwhere the smoke up-
among its hills unnum-	curling
ber'd	from a thousand cabins,
doth Amakagu ²	allwhere the seaplain
stand forth in perfect	showeth
beauty—	flight upon flight
The high brow climbing	of busy sea-gulls rising—
I look forth all the land	O land to love,
o'er,	fair land of rich ripe ears, ³
the champaign showeth	Yamato, fertile, fruitful!

¹ The Sovran is Jomei (629–41) or the Queen-Regnant Saimei (655–61). Jomei built the Palace and was buried at Kinōhe after temporary interment at Kame-hazama. In the 'Book of Barrows' (*mi-sasagi*) his is described as 102 feet high and 816 feet in contour. (N. II. 177.) There is no envoy.

² Amenokagu or Kagu or Kaku, in Yamato (there still exists a village, Kakumura). If Ame be simply epithetical, as is likely, the true rendering would be Heavenly Mt. Kagu, either sky-piercing, or the counterpart in Heaven of the one on Earth may be poetically alluded to. (See N. I. 34.) In K. 31 the name is connected with *Kago* (*shika-ko*), young deer.

³ Akitsushima, a m. k. In later days explained as the

Dragon-fly-shaped land (*akitsu* = *tombo* = dragon-fly). Often *toyo*, abundant, is prefixed to the name, of which the real origin is unknown.

3

On the occasion of a Royal Hunt on the moor of Uchi¹ the Princess Nakachi offereth the Sovran this Lay, indited at her request by Hashihito no Murazhi Oyu.

My Lord and Sovran,	for hunt at even
in peace and power who	still maketh he him ready,
ruleth ² ,	and ever yon bow-end
when daybreak show-	of the whitewood bow he
eth	loveth—
in his trusty bow delight-	it echoeth full loudly.
eth,	

when dusk is falling	On Utsu's ⁴ moorland
with heed aside he setteth,	(the days of life are num-
and ever yon bow-end,	ber'd) ⁵
bow-end of bow of white-	the horsefolk gather,
wood ³	and men shall beat the
my Sovran loveth,~	jungle
full loudly it resoundeth,	and rouse the game there
for hunt at daybreak	crouching.
ay maketh he him ready,	

¹ Uchi or Utsu is in Yamato; Nakachi, according to Okabe, is the Consort Hashihito—so named after her foster-mother (of the family of Hashihito), a common practice in Old Japan. In the Nihongi (N. II. 165) she is mentioned as the second (*nakachi* or middle) daughter of the Mikado Jomei. She became the consort of the Mikado Kōtoku, and died in the fourth year of the Mikado Tenchi (665)—at her death 330 persons were compelled to enter religion (N. II. 283). Hashihito no Murazhi Oyu (*oyu* = *okoto*, venerable sir), a member of the Nakatomi clan, is mentioned in the Nihongi (N. II. 246)

under the year 654. The name Hashi is that of Nomi no Sukune, who advised the Mikado Suinin to bury clay images instead of live men in the *mi-sasagi* or barrows (N. I. 130). More correctly, Hashi (= Hanishi, potter), is the *bé* name. The object of the lay seems to be a remonstrance against the mikado's passion for the chase, which takes him so early afield, and brings him so late home, that the princess cannot properly attend upon him. There is no envoy.

² The m. k. *yasumishishi* may be thus rendered. See List of *makura kotoba* (Texts). Another rendering is 'who knoweth (ruleth) the eight (all) corners (of the land)', i. e. who ruleth all the land. But the former rendering is better—compare 'parcere subiectis et *debellare* superbos'—*debellator*, κοσμήτωρ.

³ *adzusa-no-ki*, Catalpa, or possibly *Prunus*, or *hi-no-ki* (*Chamaecyparis*).

⁴ *utsu* (*utsutsu*) means real wakeful life as opposed to *yume*, dreams—hence the applicability of the m. k. in the text of which I have attempted to give the value in the second line of the envoy.

⁵ This line gives the value of the m. k. *tamakiharu*, life-limiting, applied to *utsu*, real existence.

4

By Ikusa no Ohokimi on coming to the mountain
passes he must cross on accompanying a Royal
Progress to Aya in Sánuki¹.

'Tis misty springtime,	and all my spirit
to close the long day	is filled with wretched-
draweth,	ness,
and with the darkness	wherefore 'tis well
the mingling daylight	I utter my complaint—
passeth,	my lofty Sovran
and heavy my heart is,	I follow in my service,
the ruler of my being ² ,	the mountain passes
while owls ³ complaining	where roar the blasts to
the night crowd with their	climb,
shriekings,	both morn and even

cold winds upon me blow-	my very heart within me,
ing	like fireflames roaring
in gusts unceasing	beneath the salt pans
while I on couch all lonely,	tended
on grassy pillow,	by fisher-maids of Tsunu.
must wayfarer's rest still	—
seek me,	The gales incessant
fair palace service	, are rushing o'er the passes,
for toilsome tracks ex-	no sleepy night I
changing—	yearn not with love and
nor quit me can I	longing
of many a sad regret,	to clasp thee left behind
till my woe burneth	me!

¹ Whether Ikusa no Ohokimi is a name or a title is uncertain. Ohokimi (Great Prince) was the title of the Mikado, of Princes of the Blood Royal, also known as *Shinnō* (Related Chiefs) and of *mi-ko*, Illustrious (*mi* or *ma*) Children. The progress was to the Hot Wells of Iyo, and took place in the eleventh year of Jomei (769). (See N. II. 169.) There is one envoy.

² An imitation of the m. k. *murakimono*, lit. all the inner organs.

³ *Nuye*, mentioned in what is probably the oldest of the lays quoted in the Kojiki (K. 76, note). Mr. Chamberlain cites a description from the *Yō Kiyoku Tsūge* or *Tsūkai* ('Commentary on the Nō dramas'): 'It has the head of a monkey, the body of a racoon-faced dog, the tail of a serpent, and the hands [sic] and feet of a tiger'; another, from the *Wakun Shiwori* ('Guide to a Knowledge of Japanese Words as distinguished from Chinese'): 'It is a bird larger than a pigeon and having a loud and mournful cry', and a third, from an old and curious Chinese work called *Sankaikyō* ('Mountain and Sea Classic'—a sort of Description of Nature): 'Like a pheasant with markings on its head, white wings, and yellow feet, whose flesh is a certain cure for the hiccough'. The original of this more or less mythic bird is probably a species of owl.

During the Residence at the Palace of Afumi.

5

On the Three Mountains, by Nakano Ohoye¹.

Exalted Kagu,	for a woman's grace, and
charmed by Unebi's beauty,	• favour
with Miminashi	• shall strive in rivalry.
to win the fair hill	————— •
strove—	High Kaguyama
such rivalries	and the hill of Miminashi
the very gods' age knew,	together wrangled—
long, long ago	'twas to Inami's moorland
so 'twas, and ever will be	to 'suage the strife the
that we poor mortals	god came.

¹ The Mikado Tenchi (or Tenji), 668-71. He resided at Ômi no Miya (665-71). The Kogi says Ohoye (great Elder Brother) was a designation of the Heir Apparent. The Story of the Three Hills, all in Yamato, is this—two of them quarrelled as rivals for possession of the third, and the god Aho, hearing of this, left Izumo with the object of making an arrangement. On the way he heard that the struggle was ended, and, instead of pursuing his journey, turned his boat bottom-upwards and remained at Inami no hara in Harima, where he heard the news. (He must therefore have come round by sea—a pretty long voyage even for a god.) The mikado cites the case of the Three Hills as justifying men's rivalry in love in his own day. Perhaps in the story (among other memories) there is some faint echo of a strife between clans whose tribal gods had their seats on the hills in question. Of one of the two envoys the journey of the god Aho is the subject. The Kogi explains the rivalry as allusive to burning mountains. The name Inami means, homophonously, 'refuse', and may imply the refusal of the god to pursue a journey that had become useless.

During the Residence at the Palace of Ohotsu in
Afumi.

6

Spring and Autumn.¹

From winter's prison	so close the jungle
now cometh spring escap-	I may not reach the
ing ² ,	blossoms—
and birds late songless	in time of autumn
do fill the woods with	I featly pierce the
music,	thickets
the copse erst flow'rless	to choose and gather
the hills with blossoms	the sprays with autumn
decketh,	ruddiest,
but in the springtime	the sprays unglowing
so thick-pleached are the	I thrust aside, unplucking,
bowers	and so ³ for me,
scarce way I win there	for me the hills of
to list the birds' new carols,	autumn! ⁴

¹ By the Princess Nukata. Chosen by the mikado at his palace 'of Otsu (Ômi) from a number indited at his command, comparing the vernal and autumnal beauties of the hills. The command was delivered to the Naidaijin Fujihara no Asomi (the celebrated Kamatari Kô of whose *mi-sasagi* or barrow a woodcut will be found in Aston's *Nihongi* II. 243). He died in the latter half of the seventh century. See also *Jimméijisho* sub Fujihara Kamatari. Nukata was one of the ladies of the Mikado Temmu (N. II. 322).

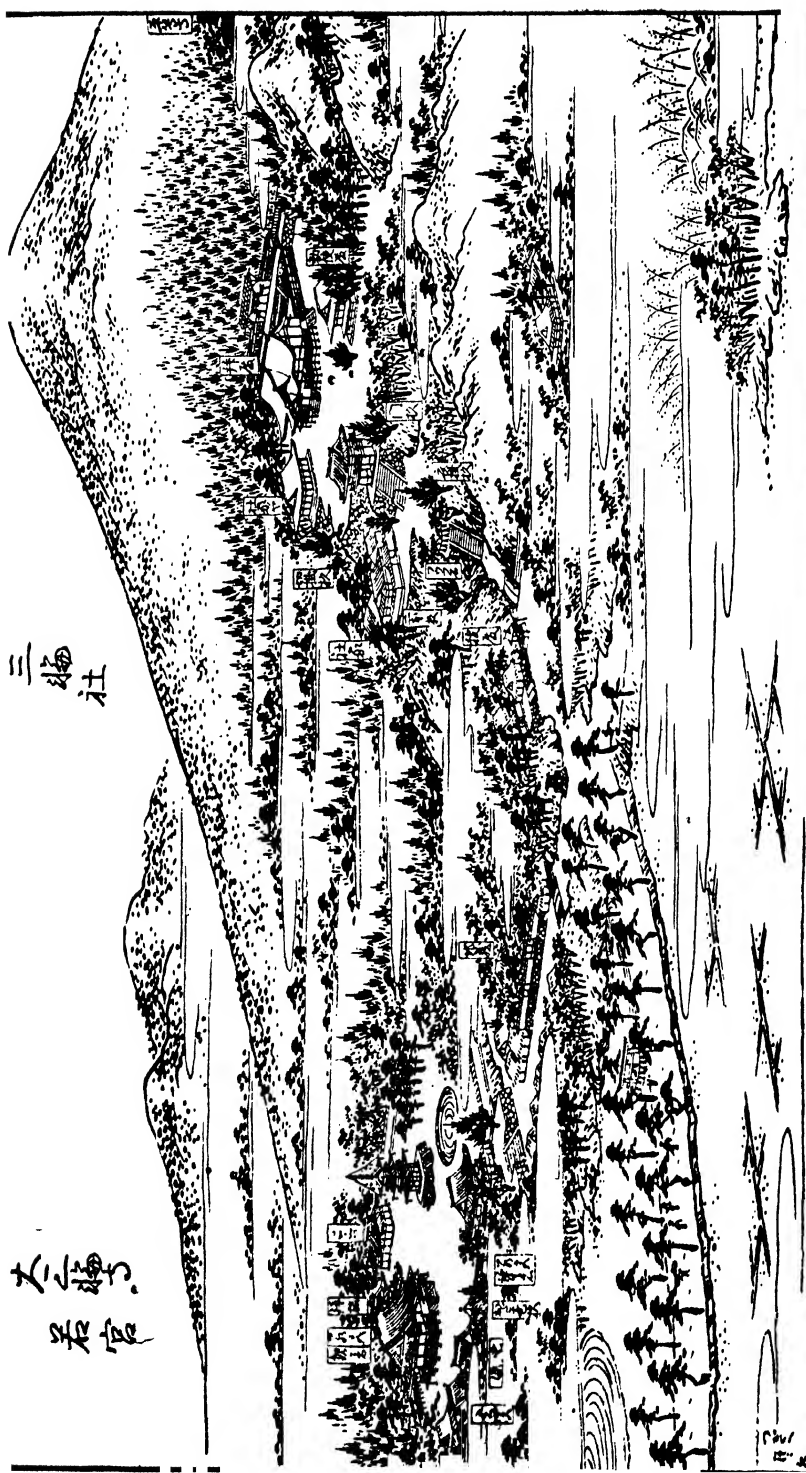
² A rendering of the m. k. *fuyukomori*, winter-prison'd.

³ In the text *nageku* = *naga-iku*, lit. draw-deep-breath, of pleasure, or—more often—of grief.

⁴ Autumn is preferred because it is easier at that season to discover the ruddy sprays wherewith to deck the head than the blooms of spring amid the thick greenery. But spring is not to be despised.

大正天皇
石宮

三編 社



• Miwa hill, with Miwa temple to left and shrine to right.
The *regular* shape of the hill is considered its principal beauty.

7

By the Princess Nukata, on going down to Afumi.

O hill of Miwa,	and they are many,
nigh pleasant home that	I turn to gaze on Miwa
riseth,	while I may see it,
sweet hill of Miwa!	again, again to see it,
over the Pass of Nara	but mists too heartless
(well-founded Nara!)	arise and hide
afar the track now bears	receding Miwa from me—
me	sweet hill of Miwa,
among the hills,	nigh pleasant home that
but till is hidden Miwa,	riseth! ¹
at every bend,	

¹ The traveller regrets leaving her home and chides the mists for hiding Miwa, a hill in Yamato, not far from City-Royal, famous for its beauty. The pivot of the lay is Miwa, the homophon *miwa* means a sort of sacred *sake*, and to it therefore is attached the m. k. *umasakeno*, sweet *sake*, a treasured thing in ancient Japan. *Umasakeno* is a curious m. k.; it is attached to other place-names beginning with *mi*, as *Mimoro*, where the *mi* is said to be the name of a herb added to *sake* (to give flavour?), and also to *kami* or *kamu*, 'chew', as in *Kamunabi* (a hill-name), because *sake* seems at some very remote date to have been prepared by chewing, in some such way as *kava* is prepared in Polynesia. Or, lastly, *mi* may be an abbreviation of *kami*. *Umasakeno* means 'like sweet drink', and may be compared with the Homeric ἡδύποτος.

BOOK I, PART II

During the Residence at the Palace of Kiyomihara
in Asuka.

8

A Lay indited by the Sovran ¹.

On high Mikane	of the winding mountain
in Yôshînu's fair land	pathway
snow ever falleth,	as ceaselessly
and the rain it raineth	as falleth rain, snow fall-
ever—	eth,
at every bend	on thee my thoughts
	dwell, dear!

¹ Probably the Mikado Temmu (673-86).

During the Residence at the Palace of Fujihara.¹

9

By Kakinomoto no Asomi Hitômaro, on visiting
City-Royal in Afumi.

By high Unobi	anon Yamato,
(gift-bearing suppliant	broad land of skyey
know ²)	heights,
that towers o'er	forsook the Sovran,
wide Kashi-hara's moor	his own dread will obey-
was manifested	ing ⁶ ,
the great divine sun-	of well-laid Nara ⁷
ruler ³ ,	to cross the lofty pass
and ever after,	towards Ômi's ⁸ land
age after age succeeding ⁴ ,	no distant heaven under,
the great god-rulers	a land all rocky
o'er all the under-heaven ⁵	with roar of waters echo-
have loftysway borne—	ing,

and by the ripples
of Óhotsu's⁹ straud high-
rear'd

his stately palace,
and ruled the under-
heaven ;

here dwelt our Sovrans,
here dwelt our godlike,
rulers,

and here their palace,
as old folks tell us ever,
their lofty halls,

as we do ever hear,
did stand, alas !

but coiling mists in spring-
time,

tall reeds in summer,
are seen where rose the
Palace,

where stood the stately
halls¹⁰ !

Where Kara's¹¹ head-
land

O'er Shiga's ripples
towers,

though fair the age be,
now never a barge there
waiteth

the pleasure of the Palace.

still are the waters
of the pool of Ohowada¹²
in wavy¹³ Shiga—

O would the men of old
time

there might be seen once
more !

¹ Between 690-707. This is the first of the Lays by Hitómaro, commonly regarded as the prince of the Manyōshū poets. (See Introduction, Sect. xv.)

² The m. k. here tentatively rendered is *tamatasuki*, applied to *une*, arm, part of the place-name Unebi. It is generally explained as fine (*tama*) arm-bands (hand-helpers)—that is, cords fastened behind the shoulders and supporting, originally, the tray on which offerings were carried, to be offered to the gods, or food, &c., for the mikado by his *uneme*, or waiting-maids—none but women attended upon him. *Tama* itself is probably connected with *tamafu*, bestow—the meaning 'fine' or 'precious' being secondary. But the Kogi prefers to explain the epithet as nothing but a variant of *tabatusuki*, bands fastened to the openings of the sleeves, gathering them up (*tabane*) and draw them back so as to free the arms for movement. The Kogi cites so many passages in support of this view that I am inclined to adopt it. Professor Florenz prefers the other view (*T. A. S. J.* VII). See List of m. k. (Texts).

³ The first mikado, Iharebiko (Jimmu).

⁴ There is a word-play here—a very poor one—not susceptible of imitation, turning upon the similarity of sound between *tsuga* (*Abies tsuga*) and *tsugi* (succession).

⁵ A Japanese rendering of a common Chinese expression, denoting the known, non-barbarian world, the οἰκουμένη of the Far East.

⁶ The literal meaning seems to be ‘what could he be thinking of; what was his mind or will?’

⁷ The m. k. *awoniyoshi* might conceivably convey to a Japanese ear the meaning *awomi yoshi*, as epithetical of *nara* (*Quercus glandulifera*?), homophonous with Nara, City-Royal. But see List m. k.

⁸ Afumi (Ômi) = Ahaumi. *Aha* may mean ‘foam’, more probably here millet. *Ahaumi* would then mean millet-productive, not an unlikely place-designation. Here, as in so many cases of Japanese nomenclature, homophonous confusion has turned a significant into an unmeaning name. Ômi is more commonly written as *foam-sea*, and applied not only to the province but to the vast lake better known as Lake Biwa.

⁹ Or Ohodzu. It is best to use the *nigori* (muddying, i. e. voicing of surds) as little as may be. In the text the m. k. *sasanami* is applied to Ohodzu—*sasanami*, now written ripples or little waves, seems to have been an ancient name of a district, and as such is applicable both to Ohotzu and Shiga (see the envoys). The poetical use of it I have ventured to retain.

¹⁰ The m. k. here is *momoshiki*, and is variously explained. It seems to have meant originally a fort, or stone-faced earthwork, or *sangar*, or tomb-place, built of many (*momo*) stones (*ishi*). *Ki* is a keep or work or construction. The m. k. may fairly be rendered stout, stately, &c.

¹¹ Overlooking Lake Biwa. *Karasaki sakiku*, a pivotal word-play, it might be rendered ‘though Happy Cape high, no happy barge awaiteth the pleasure of the palace’, the second ‘happy’ taken as = opportune.

¹² A creek of the lake, where the court-folk used to angle.

¹³ More strictly, perhaps, *wavy* applies to Ohowada.

10

By Hitómaro, on the occasion of the Sovran's visit to the Palace in Yóshinu.¹

In peace and power	fare o'er the morning
o'er all the under-heaven	waters,
our Sovran reigneth,	and the ev'ning waters
o'er many a fair land	with many a craft are
reigneth,	crowded—
and none is fairer	O never may
than Káfuchi ² the hilly .	the rivers cease to flow
land of sweet waters,	there,
and Yóshinu	the mountains never
the heart delighteth	to climb the heavens cease
ever ³ ,	there,
where Akitsu's ⁴ moor	mid streamy roar
is white with fallen	still flourish City-Royal ⁵ ,
flowers,	a place of joy for ever !
where stands the palace	
on stately pillars reared,	A joy for ever ⁶
where o'er the waters	to gaze on Yóshinu,
the servants of the Sov-	where glide the waters
ran	in streamy flow unending,
in many a wherry	a land to gaze on ever. .

¹ The Sovran is the Queen-Regnant Jitô (690-6).

² Kafuchi = *Kaha-fuchi*, river-pools, now Kawachi, written *Kaha-uchi*, 'amongst the rivers'. Perhaps in ancient times *uchi* was pronounced *fuchi*. (Aston's *Gramm.*, p. 34.)

³ This line renders the m. k. *mikokorowo*, here used ~~not~~ as an epithet but as connected by a word-play with *yoshi* = good, fine, part of Yóshinu, which no doubt meant 'reedy moor' (*yoshi* also meaning the reed *Phragmites Communis*).

⁴ The story connecting the name—Dragon-fly-moor—is given by Dr. Aston (N. I. 342). The Mikado Yuriyaku (457-9), being out hunting, was troubled by a gadfly. A dragon-fly, winging his way by, seizes the tormentor. Thereupon the

Mikado orders his courtiers to compose a lay, but they cannot, or dare not. He therefore composes one himself, ending thus—

Even a creeping insect
waits upon the Great Lord,
thy form it will bear,

O Yamato, land of the Dragon-fly.

Thereafter the place was called the Dragon-fly-moor. Akidzu or Akitsu, it will be remembered, is one of the names of Japan. (See Glossary, and List of 卍. k. (Texts).)

⁵ There is a place in Mino called Tagi (cascade or rapids), but the *taji* (*taki*) in the text is descriptive merely.

⁶ A close translation, 'although one gaze, never tired is one of gazing.'

11

By Hitômaro.¹

In peace and power	on the upper waters
our Sovran Lady ruleth,	ord'ring
divinely lonely,	the cormorant fishing,
in majesty she dwelleth ²	the meshy nets far casting
in high-roofed palace	in the lower waters,
midst Yôshinu's swirling	so humbly serve our
waters—	Sovran

the great hills climbing	both hill and river—
o'erall the land she gazeth,	'tis the god's own age
* for her the gods	belike,
of the green empiled ³	a god Yamato ruling!
hills	

provide due offerings,	The streams and moun-
coronals of cherry-blossoms	tains
in happy springtime,	they throng to serve our
of ruddy leafery garlands	Sovran,
in time of autumn,	a very god she—
while Yûfu's god purvey-	in Kafuchi land of waters
eth	whereon she takes her
the royal fare,	pleasure.

¹ There is no argument. The lay is by Hitómaro, on the same theme as the preceding lay. Far from the City-Royal, unattended by a courtly train, the Sovran is yet served by the very gods of the hills and streams, as though the ancient days of the gods when they held direct intercourse with mortals were come back. The Sovran was probably the Queen-Regnant Jitô, but may have been her successor the Mikado Mommu. The Yûfu river is in Yamato.

² More literally, 'reigneth at'. This and preceding line seem better to render *kamusabi* than 'as a god she exercised a god's choice'.

³ 'Empiled' renders the m. k. *tatanadzuku*; *awokaki* in the text I translate green, more literally it is 'green-fenced', i.e. covered with forest greenery, green-wooded.

12

By Hitómaro, on the occasion of Prince Karu's Retreat on the Moor of Aki.¹

Illustrious heir	amid thick jungle faring,
of the shining sun's great	when morn is breaking,
goddess ² ,	what time the birds
divine in majesty	are plaining,
in awfulness who bid-	when darkens even,
eth—	as dieth down the sun-
	glow
he hath foregone	in the west still burn-
the state of City-Royal ³ ,	ing ⁶ ,
the wilds of Hátuse	where Aki's vasty moor
by rugged hills engir-	with snow is whitened,
dled ⁴	where grow tall plummy
the Prince hath sought,	grasses ⁷
climb'd trackless hills,	aside he brusheth
thro' forests ⁵ ,	to sleep on reedy pillow ⁸
o'er rocks and bushes,	and muse on days agone.

¹ The name Karu occurs several times in the Nihongi. In the Kogi, Karu is said to have been the child-name of the Mikado Mommu (679-707), son of Kusakabe, son of the

Mikado Temmu (673-86) ; Kusakabe is further identified with the Prince Hinami, who is thrice mentioned in Book II (see XXII). It is in remembrance of his father that the Prince practises a sort of retreat on the Moor of Aki.

² Amaterasu, the great Sky-Shine Goddess, ancestress of the mikados.

³ I use this designation for Miyako, lit. the Grand House-Place, i. e. the Capital.

⁴ Equivalent of the m. k. in the text, *komoriku*.

⁵ The text is "right-trees", trees fit for building, probably *Chamaecyparis obtusa* is meant. The name in the text (*maki*) is now given to the *Podocarpus macrophylla* or *chinensis*.

⁶ Here the m. k. (*kagirohi*) can only be conjecturally rendered.

⁷ *Hatasusuki*, *Miscanthus sinensis*.

⁸ For a fuller explanation see List of m. k. (Texts).

BOOK I, PART III

13

A Lay of the Folk charged with the Building of the
Palace at Fujihara.¹

Our Sovran Lady,	their grace bestowed
Bright sun-descended one,	her—
in peace and power,	And now vast balks of
o'er all the land who	timber
ruleth,	on Tanakami
on Fuji's moor	in rocky roaring Afumi ³ ,
where coarse wistaria	of right-wood timber
groweth ²	which builders deftly
she stood, forth sending	split ⁴ ,
her glance o'er all the	are hewn and borne
champaign,	by eager folk to float
and there she minded	them
to rear a stately palace,	down Uji's river
divinely minded,	(which men call All-folk-
and the gods of earth and	water ⁵)
heaven	like river weed

so crowded drift the tim- bers— in multitudes we haul the logs un- tired, of homes, of selves, in service leal forgetful ⁶ , as wild-fowl swim we the logs so featly float- ing wherewith the Palace to rear for our Sovran, the sun-child's Palace, from tracts unknown, re- mote, by Kose's road ⁷ we haul the heavy tim- bers— O may the land	for ages long endure; the tortoise omen ⁸ , late shown of strange- writ shell, be happy presage, of time to come fair pre- sage! by Idzumi's waters we bring the balks of right-wood, in rafts well knotted, full half-a-hundred ⁹ rafts, and so upstream against the waters pole we towards City-Royal, where men our travail watching shall own for a god we labour ¹⁰ .
--	---

¹ The occasion of the lay is the erection of a new Palace at Fujihara by the Queen-Regnant Jitô (N. II. 400-9). According to Motowori the timber would be felled on Tanakami (in Afumi), thence dragged to the Uji-gaha, and floated down the stream to a point, whence it was borne to the Idzumi-gaha, to be made into rafts which drifted down to Naniha, whence they would be poled up the Kii river by Kose to Fujihara. I have not been able to verify this itinerary for lack of maps.

² I render the m. k. here by 'coarse', though applicable rather to the cloth made of Wistaria bark than to the shrub itself.

³ More literally 'land of rocky torrents'. There is a m. k. (*koromode*) here which cannot be rendered; it is explained in the list of m. k. (Texts).

⁴ The m. k. is literally 'wood-split', i. e. easy to split, an epithet applicable to *hi* (*Chamaecyparis*), the timber still used temples and important buildings.

⁵ Here is given the gist of the m. k. which literally is 'com-

panies of warrior-folk' and 'eight score' (very many) applied to 'clan' or 'family'.

⁶ 'King Wan used the strength of the people to make his tower . . . and yet the people rejoiced to do the work.' Mencius, Legge's translation.

⁷ The Kose road (*Kose-jû*) passed through the district of Fujihara—*kose*=pass along or over.

⁸ In N. II. 293 under A.D. 670 we read 'within the capital a tortoise had been caught, on its back was written the character for *saru* (ape or 'monkey), one of the twelve signs of the Chinese zodiac'. The wonder recurred two years later, the reappearance of the tortoise was marked, however, not by prosperity, but by civil disturbances.

⁹ The m. k. is 'less than a hundred', applied to 'fifty', used merely to signify a large number.

¹⁰ Compare the line 'divinely minded. The palace is fit for a god.'

14

In praise of the Palace of Fujihara.

In peace and power
she ruleth all the land,
our Lady Sovran¹,
the shining sun's descen-
dant,

midmost the plain
of the Fount of Purple
Blossoms²

her Palace building
oft on the dyke there
watch'd she
of Haniyasu³

(where potters erst their
art plied)

and gazed around her—
There Kagu's green hill
saw she
o'er broad Yamato

east of the Palace rising,
there fair Unebi
high o'er the wide plain
shining
west of the Palace,
there green-rushed Mimi-
nashi

'gainst the northern skies
uprising,
and the flow'ry slopes
too

of the hills of Yoshinu
noon's heaven climbing
where earth meets cloudy
welkin—

on high the skies are
rounded in radiance,
and all the heavens

shine with the sun-orb's	Now built the Palace,
splendour,	how gladly render ser-
'neath either glory	vice
the Fount's bright waters	successive be vies
sparkle ;	of maids, obeisant service
flow ever those sweet	to' their high Sovran
waters ! ⁴	yielding. ⁵

¹ The Queen-Regnant Jitô (690-6).

² The Fount or Well of Fuji or Wistaria. There is a m. k. not translated—*arataheno*, of rough cloth (made of Wistaria fibre).

³ Of *Haniyasu-no-ike*, the pool of Haniyasu. It lies at the foot of Mount Kagu in Yamato. In the Nihongi (N. I. 119) we read, 'Take Earth [said the Heavenly Deity] from within the Shrine of the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and of it make eighty (i.e. many) Heavenly Platters. Also make sacred jars and therewith sacrifice to the Gods of Heaven and Earth.'

⁴ The lay is anonymous ; the author is doubtless a member of the Queen-Regnant's suite. Some portions of the translation are more or less conjectural.

⁵ This seems to be the meaning, but the envoy is somewhat obscure. Okabè considers the stanza not to be an envoy at all, but an independent *tanka*.

During the Residence at Nara.

15

On the occasion of the removal of the Court from
Fujihara to Nara.¹

In dread obeisance	I wend me sadly, .
to my great lord and	and never a turn I round
Sovran,	by
fair home and pleasant	of endless windings
in Fujihara quitting, .	whence times a thousand
o'er watery ways	thousand
from hill-engirdled Hasse	I turn not, gazing

tow'rds Fujihara, gazing	the chilly night thro' rest-
with wistful glances,	less—
from dawn till even latens	as thus I wend me
the spear-ways ² wend-	I vow for a thousand ages
ing	shall we, friend, meet
until of Saho's river	still
I reach the waters ³	in yonder house new-
flow nigh well-founded.	builded
Nara,	where long may'st thou
and waking marvel	live happy!
to see the moon still	
shining,	Well-founded Nara—
and all the land white	where now, friend, thou
with show of rime and	abidest,
hoar-frost;	for time uncounted
and all the waters	I will not fail to show me,
to floors of ice fast frozen,	nor think thou to forget
the livelong night thro'	me!

¹ By an unknown author. The removal of the Court took place about 708. The author, it seems, has assisted his friend in building a new house in Nara, where the friends shall still meet, despite the distance that may separate them. The author like his friend leaves Fujihara, but apparently goes to Hasse or some neighbouring place.

² Of the m. k. thus rendered several explanations have been given. One is 'straight as a spear' with reference to a quibble in *michi*, road, which may be read (Motowori) *mi chi*, true shaft of spear: *michi* may be used for landways or waterways. Another turns upon the story of Izanagi and Izanami, who, standing upon the Bridge (or Ladder) of Heaven, thrust down a wondrous spear into the ocean, the drops of brine dropping from which on withdrawal produced the island of Onogoro by self-coagulation. Dr. Aston gives the m. k. a phallic origin upon good grounds (see his *Shintô*).

³ The journey is by river.

BOOK II, PART I

During the Residence at the Palace of Fujihara.

16

The first of two Lays by Hitómaro, on leaving his wife in Ihami¹ to go up to City-Royal.

On Tsunu's coast	thou bod'st whom I leave
anigh Ihami's waters	sadly ⁵ ,
though men may say	while timesten thousand,
no sheltering bay there	at every winding corner
lieth,	of lengthening track
though men may say	I turn me round and home-
no salty flats there	wards
offer, ²	my wistful eyes send,
yet on the shore-sands	while ever farther, farther,
of the sea of whaley ³	our homeplace fleeth,
waters,	and steeper rise the moun-
upon the shore-sands	tains
Watadzu's marge that	I climb, wayfaring ;
border,	as herb in summer droop-
the green green sea-	ing
weeds ⁴ ,	love's burden bows me,
shore-weeds and deep sea	O hills remove your masses
tresses	that I may see our cottage!
with the morning	—
breezes	From mid the wild-
are blown to find their	wood
resting,	on Takatsunu hangeth
and as the seaweeds	in our Ihami
at last rest, wind or wave-	my sleeve in farewell
tost,	wave I,
so in my arms, dear,	O will she see my token ?

By soft winds ruffled but me the murmur mind-
 the sasa ⁶ leaves are rust- eth
 ling of the woe of parting from
 amid the still hills thee.

¹ In the far west of the main island.

² Where shell-fish may be gathered.

³ The m. k. is 'where men catch whales', an epithet of the sea.

⁴ Various seaweeds were eaten by the ancient Japanese, some are still articles of food. The grace of woman is often compared with the flexuous drift of laminar or filamentous seaweeds. As the weeds find their final rest on the shore, so the wife found hers in her husband's arms, who now, alas! must leave her for City-Royal. The opening portion of the lay serves as an introduction or preface to the line, 'so in my arms, dear.'

⁵ The m. k. of 'leave' (*okite*) I am obliged to leave unrendered. It is *tsuyushimono*, rime and dew, as 'left' on the branches and leaves of plants in the morning or evening, or a symbol of impermanence.

⁶ A small bamboo (*Arundinaria japonica*) forming a low brushwood.

17¹

By Kara's cape	as eruel 'tis
(what babble Kara talk is ²)	as clinging ivy stripping
from deep-sea bottom	from shelt'ring tree-
by ivy-cloth'd Ihami ³	trunk
the sea-wrack riseth,
and all along the sea-sands	now all my heart,
float fine sea-tangles,	chief ruler of my being,
so deep within me bideth	is filled with sorrow,
love deep as sea-wrack	as long looks throwing
for her who by mesleepeth	towards
like shore-weed restful,	our home-place, dear,
nor many alas have been	I find the ruddy shower
our days of joyance,	of the leaves of autumn,
and each time we are	wherewith glows vast
parted	Watari,

from my eyes hideth	are drench'd with the dew
the waving of thy sleeve	of tears.
farewell me bidding,	—————
the while upon Yakami	In headlong gallop
from rift infrequent	on his grey steed he
the hast'ning clouds allow	hasteth
the moonbeams' shimmer,	beyond all knowing
sad moon sad thoughts	, and far beyond he passeth
recalling,	her home-place whom he
and the sun scarce	loveth.
ling'ring	—————
its course in the far west	High hill of Autumn
endeth—	awhile thy leaves so ruddy
a warrior am I	delay to shower—
yet now my sleeves of	a little longer let me
fine stuff	gaze where she gazeth
	tow'rds me.

¹ This is the second of the two lays mentioned in the argument of 16.

The first portion of the lay forms a preface to the line 'for her who by me sleepeth' (by the poet's side, when abiding in his own home).

As far as seemed legitimate I have incorporated the value of the various m. k. in the translation. Of the two envoys the first is inappropriate, and doubtless wrongly placed here. It implies a regret that some passing love, perhaps on official duty, does not give a moment to his mistress.

² The name *Kara* reminds the poet of Kara (China or Korea) of strange speech.

³ The m. k. is, exactly, *εὐκισσος*.

BOOK II, PART II

During the Residence at the Palace of Ohotsu in
Afumi.

18

By one of the Ladies of the Court on the ascent to
heaven of the Sovran.¹

Earthly and mortal, were I a jewel worn,
my lord I may not follow or any vestment,
 on high ascended ², I should be still unparted ³
and far from him divided from whom I love,
 each morn my tears my lord whom in a vision
each even flow my tears, but yesternight I saw ⁴.
 from him wide sun-
 der'd—

¹ An elegy (*banka*) by one of the Mikado's ladies. Another explanation mentions her ascent of the *mi-sasagi* (barrow) there to mourn the Mikado.

² In early Shintô the Mikado was regarded as a god incarnate on earth. His death was a return to heaven, where he had his palace, *ama tsu mi kado*.

ἐγὼ χιτῶν γενοίμην

ὅπως αἰὲς ῥοφῆς με. Anacreon.

⁴ The appearance of friends or lovers in dreams is a common incident in Chinese poetry.

19

By the Queen-Cônsort, on the occasion of the
Enshrinement of the Mikado ¹.

On Afumi's waters to inward oar ³ or out-
—wide as the whaley sea—² ward—
 ye boatmen oaring! the birds he cherish'd,
or deeper waters seek ye, my lord and husband
 ye boatmen oaring! cherish'd,
or shallow waters seek ye, free flight now straight-
 bend gently, pray you way take they.

¹ One of four elegies. The other three are *tanka*, two anonymous, one by a *tozhi* or house-lady. The Mikado may have been Tenchi (668-71). The enshrinement or 'lesser burial' was a disposal of the corpse in a tomb of rough stones (*araki*) or shrine or mortuary chapel while the *mi-sasagi* or barrow was being prepared, or the barrow might be heaped over the *araki*. The boatmen are bidden to row gently so as not to alarm the birds now liberated on their master's death. This may be a Buddhist practice. At the present day birds are often set at liberty at a funeral, and the equivalent in Japan of 'no flowers' is 'Ikebána tsukúribána hanashidori go sóyo no gi wa onkotowari moshiagesôrô,' 'we beg to decline flowers, real or artificial, and birds to set at liberty.' (Chamberlain's *Intro. to Study of Japanese Writing*, 423.) Hawking seems to have been introduced into Japan from Hyákusai (Pekché) in Korea. In N. I. 249 an interesting account of its introduction will be found. Hawking was a favourite amusement of the Shogans and of the Daimyos up to the close of the Bakufu period (1868). But hawks do not appear to be meant here—pet birds of some kind are intended. From the Nihongi I take the following descriptions of funeral ceremonies from the age of the gods to the close of the seventh century.

'On the death of Ame-waka-hito (the Young Sky-Lord) his wife (the Undershine, Princess) sent down a swift wind to bring the body up to the sky. Then an *araki* was made in which it was deposited. The burn-door fowls were made head-hanging bearers (with offerings of rice on their heads) and the river geese were broombearers (to sweep the road in front). The kingfisher attended as the deceased, sparrows represented the pounding-women (pounding rice for guests or offerings), and wrens the mourners. [Evidently birds were necessary as the funeral took place in the sky.] For eight days and nights they wept and sang dirges.' Apropos of this passage Mr. Aston cites, appositely enough, the story of the Death and Burial of Cock Robin. On the death of the Mikado Ingyô, the King of Silla (in Korea) sent eighty (i. e. many) tribute-ships with eighty musicians, who put on plain white garments, and wept and wailed, and sang and danced until they assembled at the *araki* of provisional burial.' In N. I. 326 will be found a view (after a photograph) of the *mi-sasagi* of Ingyô tennô.

In A.D. 612 the body of the Queen-Consort Katashi was re-interred in the great *mi-sasagi* of Hinokuma. Funeral orations were made on the Karu way, and offerings to the spirit of the dead of sacred things and garments, fifteen thousand kinds in all.

In 683 the Mikado Temmu granted a distinguished official burial with beat of drum and blowing of horns (N. II. 360, n. 2). Officials of the third rank were allowed one hearse, forty drums, twenty great horns, forty small horns, 200 flags, one metal gong, one handbell, and one day's lamentation. In 686, on the death of Temmu, various eulogies were pronounced on behalf of different orders, guilds, and ranks, and the priests and nuns made lament. On some occasions abstinence was practised, chaplets were offered, remissions of punishment were made, many additional eulogies were pronounced, and the *tatefushi* (shield and sword dance) was performed. Under the year 646 rules are given for interments. Originally, we are told, burials were made on high places, but there were no *mi-sasaki* and no plantations of larch and cryptomeria. The offerings should be rice and clay figures, not jewels or pearls or 'jade armour'. [This description shows that the above is merely a Chinese plagiarism.] Of Princes the barrows must not exceed nine fathoms square by five fathoms high. In the case of superior ministers the dimensions shall be seven fathoms square by three fathoms in height. 'The work shall be completed by 500 labourers in five days.' The bier shall be borne by men and have white hangings. Ordinary persons must be interred at once without mound, and the hangings must be of coarse (unbleached) cloth. Suicide at the grave, slaying of horses, thigh-stabbing while pronouncing eulogiums are forbidden practices, no gold or silver, no silk or dyed stuff shall be buried. See also Dr. Gowland's 'Dolmens, &c., in Japan,' *Archæologia*, 1897, and Mr. Lay's paper on Japanese Funeral Rites, *T. A. S. J.* XIX.

² See *isanatori*, List of m. k. (Texts), also lay 16.

³ That is, 'do not splash too loudly with the oars.' There is a long note in the Kogi on the subject of larboard and starboard. What exactly were the oars or sculls used by the mariners of ancient Japan we do not know. The modern *ro* (of which an excellent cut is given in Lemaréchal's Dictionary) was not known, apparently, in the earlier centuries of the pre-

sent era. The *kai* and *kazhi*, mentioned in the Anthology, seem to have differed. The *kai* was perhaps a paddle, or side oar, the *kazhi* a stern oar, or scull. Anciently the left hand was known as *oki no te*, the right hand as *he no te*. *He* and *oki* mean respectively shallow waters and deep waters (offing). *Okitsukai* then meant to turn the prow to larboard (port), and *hetsukai* to turn it to starboard. The explanation, however, is not in all points clear to me. The expressions *okitsu* and *hetsu* are found in K, lay V.

20

By the Princess Nukata, on her return from the
misasagi of the Mikado ¹ at Yamashina.

In peace and power	where all the day
o'er all the wide land	through,
ruled he,	and every day and all days,
my lord, and Sovran	the royal servants
whose lofty tomb is	have mourned their mighty
builded	Sovran—
on high Kagami
Yamashina o'ertow'reth,	their watching ended,
where all the night	their different ways they
through,	wend them
and every night and all	who served the stately
nights,	Palace!

¹ The Mikado Tenchi (Tenji, 668–71), who died in 672. The barrow was completed in 674.

During the Residence at the Palace of Kiyomihara
in Asuka.

21

By the Queen-Consort ¹ on the ascent to heaven
of the Mikado.

In peace and power	as fell the evening
Our Sovran ruled his	he joyed to see his ser-
people,	vants ²

as broke the morning	but as I gaze on
to greet his servants joy'd	yonder lonely hillside,
he—	as even latens
on Kamiwoka	my heart is full of sorrow,
aglow with the tints of	and with the morning
autumn	I wake alone and des'late,
he lieth, I would he,	my sleeve, alas,
each day might greet his	of hempen cloth un-
servants,	bleachèd,
and every morrow	no truce of tears know-
glad eyes bend on his	ing!
servants—	

¹ The Queen-Consort is Jitô, afterwards Queen-Regnant. The Mikado is Temmu (673-86).

² Or the Queen-Consort only, but the indefiniteness of Japanese as to number justifies a reference to the servants of the court generally, or to the Mikado's ladies more particularly. In many of these lays a similar vagueness is found which cannot be rendered in the translation.

During the Residence at the Palace of Fujihara.

22

By Hitômaro, on the occasion of the Enshrinement ¹
of Hinami no Miko.²

In the beginning,	and sat them there in
when earth and sky were	council—
sunder'd,	the gods then parted,
midmost the channel	the world's dominion
of the stream of shining	parted,
Heaven ³	and gave high Heaven
the countless myriads	to themajesty of Hirumè ⁴ ,
of gods, the thousand	sky-shining goddess!
myriads,	and o'er the spacious
held high assembly	Reedland,

where ay the grain-
plants
show ears in ripe abun-
dance,

a Sovran chose they—
those gods of Earth and
Heaven!

The Earthly Sovran⁵ ,
broke through the clouds
of Heaven,
through cloudsempilèd,
to rule his realm for ages,
till glebe and sky
again should come to-
gether—⁶

'Twas thus the Sun-
Child
came in his majesty
through many an age
to rule all under-heaven,
in Kiyomi's palace
a very god abiding
till that he open'd
the rock-door of the sky,
and there ascending
as god and ruler bideth—⁷
anon our Prince he
to rule the land descended,
to all folk bringing,
a time of flowery spring⁸,

and weal and joyance
as moon at fullest am-
ple;

till men to rest them
and lean upon him learnt,
as shipmen trust them
to their great hulls stout-
buildèd,

as on the heavens
for welcome rain men
lean—

then—whysohapp'dit⁹,
that thus our Prince be-
thought him—

on lone Mayumi¹⁰
alas, far from us lieth he,
where stately shrine¹¹
is on stout pillars reared
there still he ruleth
in majesty he ruleth—

But ne'er on any morrow
fair greetings may he
exchange with his godd
lieges,

so months and days
will come and go for ever,
his men unknowing
what ways of life to follow,
their gracious lord still
mourning!

¹ Or time of mourning. Actual enshrinement (lesser or temporary burial) seems not to have been confined to the Mikados.

² In the Nihongi (N. II. 391) we read that in 689 the

Prince Imperial Kusakabe died. Kusakabe was a son of the Mikado Temmu, and was born in the first year of the reign of the Mikado Tenchi (668-71). He died in his twenty-eighth year. Hinami (Hinami Shirasu) was a second name of Kusakabe.

³ The m. k. here rendered 'shining' is explained in the list of m. k. (*hisakatano*). It is sometimes explained as gourd- or dome-shaped, as sunbright, eternal, &c.

⁴ Amaterasu no Ohongami.

⁵ Hono ninigi no Mikoto, a grandson of one of the two deities originating from the Lord of the Centre of Heaven (Fl. I. 216). (See also N. and K.) The expression 'broke through the clouds of heaven, &c.' is perhaps an imitation of the quintain, which is supposed, but erroneously (see Introduction), to be the oldest extant Japanese poem. Its text is *Ya-kumo tatsu | Idzumo ya-hegaki | tsuma-gomi ni | ya-hegaki tsukuru | sono ya-hegaki wo*. Various renderings of this *tanka* have been given (N. K. Fl.). I venture to add my own: 'Clouds upon clouds arise | eight-fold (i. e. manifold) is the fence of bright (or dread) clouds | for a spouse-secluding fence | is this manifold fence made | O this manifold fence!' I take *idzu* as meaning 'bright' or 'dread'. As to the application of the *tanka*, there are no adequate data. Many of the lays contained in the Kojiki and the Nihongi seem to me to be more or less illustrative interpolations of uncertain but comparatively late dates; most of them could not have been contemporaneous, in their extant shape, with the events they are introduced to embellish.

⁶ Creation was the parting of sky and globe, the end of the world is their coming together again.

⁷ Hinami no Miko.

⁸ The m. k. in the text are slightly amplified here.

⁹ That is, 'how did it please him to think or intend?' 'how came, it about'; an indirect way of suggesting the fact of death as a voluntary, not a forced, change of existence.

¹⁰ Spindle-tree (*Euonymus*) Hill, in Yamato. A *mi-sasagi* is described as having existed there in early mediaeval times.

¹¹ The meaning seems to be that from his shrine (*mi araka*) symbolic of his 'Palace in Heaven' (*ama tsu mi kado*) he still ruleth.

23

By Hitómaro, on the occasion of the Enshrinement of Prince Kahashima¹ presented to the Princess Hatsusebe [or Prince Osakabe].

In the upper waters	(dark as black berry
of Asuka's morning river	on pardanth ⁴ shrub that
(when fowl in flocks	showeth)—
fly ²)	oh, would that I
the water-fronds are float-	some solace still might
ing,	find me,
in the lower waters	e'en Ochi's ⁵ moor
the river-tresses waving,	I would affront to meet
hither, thither,	him,
in swaying grace are	though morning's dew
drifting,	should drench my fine-
so graceful was	stuff vestment ⁶ ,
mylord, mynobleprince—	and with the night-
in close embracings	mists
my lord's fine arms within	my long-sleeved robe be
(sword-wielding arms) ³	wetted .
no more soft yielding	on grassy pillow
sleep I,	wayfarer's rest I'd seek
and our alcove	me,
as darkest night is deso-	my lord, once more to
late,	meet thee.

¹ Prince Kahashima was the son of the Mikado Tenchi. He died in the fifth year of the Queen-Regnant Jitô (695). The Princess Hatsusebe was one of four children (two boys and two girls) and a daughter of Ohomaro. The argument of this lay is of uncertain authenticity. In some old books Kahashima is said to have been buried on the moor of Ôchi and the lament to have been written on that occasion. In N. II. 404 he is said to have died in 692. One account makes the Princess the

wife of Osakabè. But in the Nihongi she is mentioned as his sister. The lay must be taken as composed by Hitômaro to represent the feelings of the Princess.

² The m. k. relates to *asu* (morning), part of the name Asuka (probably *asa kaha*, shallow river), and can only be partially rendered.

³ The m. k. here is merely epithetic, applied really to *mi* (person) not to 'arms'.

⁴ *Pardanthus chinensis*, compare Tennyson 'more black than ash-buds in 'the month of March'.

⁵ *Wocki* (*ochi*) in Yamato. There was a *mi-sasagi* here of the Queen-Regnant Kôgyoku, who abdicated in 645. The m. k. means 'dripping', epithetic and repetitive of *wochi*, drip or drop.

⁶ The text has *tama mo*, which by word-play may be rendered either 'fine seaweed' or 'fine skirt'.

24

By Hitômaro, on the Enshrinement of Takechi no
Miko no Mikoto on the Hill of Kinohe.¹

I fear to utter,	and on Wazami's ³ moor-
to utter word I fear,	land
so dread the theme is	a resting palace
my soul a strange awe	did build, where as from
fillet—	heaven
midnight the moor '	descending dwelt he,
of high Makami riseth,	and all the wide realm
' of sunbright heaven	ruled,
the lofty palace riseth	and all the land
which in his wisdom	would settle to his sway—
he hath established,	so charged the Prince he
a rocky dwelling	the host forthwith to
for majesty to bide in,	summon
dread Lord and Sov-	of cock-crow Eastland,
ran— ²	to quell the fierce smiters ⁴ ,
who crossed wild-wooded	and lands rebellious
Fuha	compel to royal peace—
beyond the frontier,	so stoutly girding

his great sword on his	with the awful sound
thigh	affrighting,
and stoutly grasping	while thick the shafts
his mighty bow in hand	flew,
the Prince, true Prince ⁵	as snow flakes tempest-
he,	driven,
the Eastland host ar-	from countless bow-
rayed ;	strings—
the welkin echoed	the crowd rebellious
with order'd drums' loud	in arms arrayed there
thunder,	like morning's dew or
the horns outblared	hoar-frost
like fierce tigers roaring	but show to vanish ;
to flight men scaring	like noisy flocks of wild-
with their tremendous	fowl
growl,	along the border
while high the pennons	of the battle fight they
upborne o'er the moorland	fiercely,
flutter,	when, lo ! there bloweth
as flames ⁶ in spring	from holy Watarahi ⁷
time	a wind divine
run flickering mid the	the 'froward' folk 'con-
bushes	founding,
when spring escapeth	with cloudy canopy
from winter's prisoning	the skies and all the land
clutch—	there
so waved the pennons	in "darkness wrapping
beneath the windy skies,	as of the under-world—
and echoed widely	
the clang of twanging	so brought to peace
bow-ends	was
like din of storm-gale	the Land of Shining
mid winter forest roaring,	Rice-ears,
men's ears	in years ago—

and now the Prince's
 Highness⁸
 the wide realm's welfare
 before the Sovran⁹ layeth,
 in godlike maj'sty
 in peace and power who
 ruleth
 the under-heaven—
 and so for a myriad ages
 like bush in blossom,
 men hoped would still
 endure
 the happy time,
 when—to his place of
 resting
 as shrine divine
 forth come the white-
 robed mourners,
 and mid the moor
 'fore Haniyasu¹⁰ that lieth
 from ruddy dawn of day,
 and all the day long
 stag-like on bended knees
 do bend them there,
 and bow them there in
 prayer,
 and when descendeth
 night black as pardanth
 'berry,
 upon the shrine
 they gaze, and wander
 about the fence,
 like crouching quail they
 wander,

and long to serve him
 who ne'er can know their
 service,
 like birds in spring-
 time
 they err distractedly,
 their wailing endless,
 their woe unending ever—
 what time they come
 from stammering Kudara¹¹
 who for him order
 the rites funereal
 and on Kinohe,
 where green the woods are
 hanging,
 a tomb enduring
 for our high Prince estab-
 lish,
 that ever god-wise
 in peace divine he rest
 there—

 so was it ordered,
 but time was when our
 Prince
 a palace builded,
 through many an age to
 last,
 on Kagu's hill,
 through many an age
 to last
 the palace built he,
 and now as though
 tow'rds heaven

my eyes I lift there, [where now his state he
in reverent memory keepeth].
my noble Prince still
keeping.¹²

<p>Months, days unknow- ing, to my lord my love still passeth, I know, who ruleth in sun-bright heaven rul- eth</p>	<p>Their ways they know • not, his servants wand'ring wildly, amid the grasses grow tall on Haniyasu, the dike of Haniyasu.</p>
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¹ The text of this lay is not free from difficulty, and the rendering is, occasionally, somewhat conjectural. It is the longest in the Manyōshū, containing 150 verses—a few of which are irregular in metre—and 536 characters in the Chinese script. It is the only example of martial poetry known to me, and Takechi is the only hero celebrated in old Japanese verse. Of most of the *masurawo* of old Japan it must be said—

‘illacrimabiles
Urgentur ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.’

Takechi was a son of Temmu (672–86), the earlier years of whose reign were disturbed by a civil war, which the Prince mainly assisted in quelling (N. II. 301 sqq.). A remarkable speech of the Mikado addressed to him is recorded (N. II. 310), and is worth quoting: “At the Court of Afumi (Ômi) are . . . shrewd ministers with whom to conclude counsel. Now We have no one to advise with except young children. What is to be done?” The Prince . . . bared his arms and grasped his sword . . . saying, “However numerous the Afumi ministers may be, how shall they dare to oppose the [Mikado’s] divine spirit . . . thy servant Takechi, in reliance on the spiritual help of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, will inflict chastisement on them.” . . . The [Mikado] . . . stroked his back, saying:—“Be prudent . . .” . . . and delivered to him the entire conduct of military affairs. The Prince straightway returned to Wazami.’ The decisive battle

took place at Seta towards the close of the seventh month of 672. The description of the rebel army may be compared with that of Takechi's host in the *uta*. 'Their banners covered the plain ; the sound of their drums and gongs could be heard for several tens of *ri*, their ranged crossbows were discharged confusedly and the arrows fell like rain.' [This description is based on the conventional Chinese account of a battle.]

The above story shows that a considerable period (twenty-four years) elapsed between the event referred to in the first eighty or ninety lines of the *lay* and the death of Takechi.

A brief history of Takechi may be subjoined, taken from the *Nihongi* as cited in the *Kogi*. He was the son of the Mikado Temmu by one of his ladies, Amako, the daughter of a man having the curious name of Munakata Tokuse. He was consequently a half-brother of Prince Shiki, the subject of *Lay IV*. In A.D. 676 he was granted certain official dresses and arm-rests—the latter only accorded to princes and nobles of high rank. In the same year 'sustenance-fiefs' were allotted him—i. e., he was granted the tributes or taxes and services paid and rendered by a certain number of households.

In 685 he was promoted to the second division of the rank Jōkwō (pure amplitude). In 686 additional fiefs were bestowed upon him. He also gained prizes at the 'conundrum' tournaments over which the Mikado himself presided, and in which princes, ministers, and high officials took part.

Various other fiefs were allotted him, so that by 692 he possessed 5,000 of these. In 693 he was promoted to the first class of Jōkwō, having previously acted (690) as Daijō Daijin (Prime Minister). In the Minō war, as related above, he displayed great valour. He died in 696. His *mi-sasagi* was erected on Mitashi Hill, in Hirose in Yamato; an old name of Mitashi is Kinohe. A half column is allotted him in the *Jimmei-jisho* ('Dict. of Nat. Biography').

To understand the *lay*, it must be remembered that the Mikado Temmu is buried under the *mi-sasagi* of Makāmi ; that the battle takes place at Seta, not far from Wazami ; and that the *miya*, mentioned towards the close, is one built by Takechi during his lifetime on the slopes of Mount Kagu, near to Haniyasu no ike, alluded to in the second and most interesting of the appended *hanka*. The temporary interment would be at Haniyasu, the *mi-sasagi* on Kinohe as above stated. The first four lines of the *lay*, or the former or latter two which are parallel-

isms, are common modes of humilific expression, recalling—
εἰ μοι θέμις τάδ' αἰδῶν, Soph. *Electra*.

² High ruler—the Mikado Temmu (672–86). He continues to reign from his burial place, as if from Heaven to which he has ascended.

³ *Wazami*. The m. k. cannot be translated. *Makura kotoba* often apply to a part of word or name, and are then quite untranslatable. It is, however, precisely in such cases that they least deserve notice. *Wazami* is in *Minô*.

⁴ *chihayaburu* in the text, a m. k. of uncertain meaning. See List m. k. texts. ⁵ Takechi, as Daijô Daijin.

⁶ Bush fires lit to burn the ground for renewal of vegetation.

⁷ The seat of the principal gods in Ise.

⁸ Takechi, twenty-four years later. A thunderstorm occurred on the day of the battle, in 672, at which, however, Takechi was not present. ⁹ The Queen-Regnant Jitô (690–6).

¹⁰ At the foot of Mount Kagu in Yamato. H. no hara and H. no ike.

¹¹ *kotosaheku* in the text, applied to Kudara, means to stammer or speak indistinctly as a foreigner does. The place-name Kudara (written Hiyakusai) is that of one of the Korean states, transferred to Japan—a memory of one of the many Korean immigrations into early Japan.

¹² There are seventeen m. k. in this lay, all of which could be rendered by Greek compounds; some of them indeed are nearly the equivalents of common classical epithets, such as *yasumishisi* (κοσμήτωρ), *shirotaheho* (λιπαρο-), *chihayaburu* (ἐκατόγχευρος or ἐγγέσπαλος), &c.

BOOK II, PART III

25

On the Passing of Prince Yuge¹ by the Eastlander Okisome.

My Lord and Sovran	thou bidest in thy palace ² ,
in peace and power who	a very god,
rulest,	a very god thou bidest
great Sun-descended	in wondrous maj'sty—
Prince and Highness	and every day and all day,
in sun-bright heaven	each night and all night.

I lay me down and mourn
 thee
 nor tears assuage my
 sorrow.

Ah, mighty Lord,
 a very god he dwelleth
 beyond the clouds,
 beyond the clouds empilèd
 he bideth hidden from me.

¹ A son of Temmu (672-86).

² Represented on earth by the shrine of temporary interment. At death the soul (*mâtama*) of the Mikado mounts to Heaven,³ and dwells in a palace there.

26

By Hitômaro on the occasion of the Enshrinement
 of the Princess Asuka on Mount Kinohe.¹

Of Asuka's river
 (of morning bird-flights
 minding)²

the upper waters
 mid bridging rocks swirl
 on,
 the lower waters,
 rush rough 'log-bridges
 under,

there river-tresses
 upon the rocks cling
 firmly,

wilt and renew
 and drift and sway for
 ever,

upon the timbers,
 that bear the feet across,
 the streamy tangle
 in long abundance grow-
 eth,

wilting, renewing,
 and drifting, swaying
 ever—

alas how happ'd it ³!
 as watery tresses graceful
 e'er was my lady,
 as streamy tangle graceful,
 e'er was my lady,
 or stood she straight and
 slender,
 or lay she idly
 her slim limbs on the
 matting—

was it her lord
 forgot some morning
 duty,
 'or night-watch broke,
 her lord beloved and
 comely!

while quick her days
 were
 in time of spring fair
 flow'rs
 to deck their heads,
 red sprays in time of
 autumn
 to deck their heads,
 amid the wild-woods
 sought they,
 their fine-stuff sleeves
 together touching roamed
 they
 the hills around,
 with eyes as bright as
 mirrors
 in tireless joyance
 [on spring and autumn]
 gaz'd they
 the o'ibèd moon
 still rounder gròwing
 watch'd they,
 the Princess and her
 lover—

on Kinohe
 (of royal drink that
 mindeth)²
 a shrine is builded,
 where she shall rest for
 ever,
 all ended now
 their multitudinous
 words and glances ended,

long hath he sorrowed
 and all his days are weary
 like nuye bird
 unmated left and des'late,
 like restless wild-fowl
 that flutter in the morning
 he wand'reth, wond'-
 reth,
 beneath his mis'ry droop-
 ing
 like summer grasses,
 like even's star uncertain⁴
 his steps are wayward,
 his heart like ship at sea
 toss'd
 with sorrow heaveth,
 no solace ever
 for his woesome soul he
 findeth,
 nor any help
 to him may come, come
 •ever,
 her name and story
 shall ever move to pity,
 while earth and heaven
 endure the tale shall sad-
 'den,
 and her fair name,
 to Asuka's stream^{*} that
 answereth⁵,
 to the end of time
 shall the winding waters
 hallow
 him of her beauty minding.

¹ In the Zokû Nihongi ('Continuation of the Chronicles of Japan') we read of a daughter of the Mikado Tenchi by Tachitana no Irátsume, Asuka no hime, who died in 701. The motive of the lay is partly the identity of the name of the Princess with that of the river (in Takechi in Yamato). The *kimi* or spouse is Osakabe no miko, a son of the Mikado Temmu. Some commentators see in the lay a pendant to Lay 23 (on the death of Prince Kawashima), but the style *ohokimi* given to the Princess in the lay points to its being composed wholly in her honour. There are two envoys of no importance.

² In each of these parentheses the value of a m. k. is given.

³ The following lines suggest that the interruption to the course of their love was some misfeasance or omission of duty by the Prince, on account of which he was banished. During his exile the lady died.

⁴ The different positions and appearances of Mars (*kinsei* = golden star) and Mercury (*suisei* = watery star) may be intended. Or Venus as a morning and evening star, shifting thus from east to west, may be meant.

⁵ The bed of the river Asuka is constantly changing, and is frequently cited in Japanese poetry, new and old, as illustrative of the devious course of lovers' fortunes. The name of the Princess is a homonym of the river, hence the suggested word-play.

27

By Hitómaro on the death of his wife.

By Karu's track
(high fly the birds, by
Karu) ¹

my love, my sister
abode she in her village ²,
and deep desire
to see her filled my soul,
but eyes too many
forbade my constant visits,
and eyes too curious

but meetings few vouch-
saf'd us ³,

yet ever I trusted,
tho' endless as the wild
vine ⁴

the ways might be
at last to meet my dear,
as shipman hopeful
who on his tall ship
leaneth—

while secret still
 our ways of love were,
 secret
 as pool secluded
 mid rocks (bear seeds of
 fire) ⁵

alas, my world
 a sunless world became,
 and clouds o'er spread
 the moon that lit my
 heaven.

for she, my love,
 as deep-sea tangle grace-
 ful ⁶

like autumn's glory
 out of my days hath
 faded—

such are the tidings
 the sceptred runner ⁷
 bringeth,
 as clang of bow-string
 of whitewood bow ⁸ I hear
 them,

but word to answer
 or means of solace find
 not,

the very words e'en
 are pain intolerable,
 yet fain a thousandth
 I would assuage my sor-
 row—

so Karu towards

where ay she watched
 my coming
 I wend me listening,
 listening for her voice,
 but only hear
 the screams of wild fowl
 flying

across Unebi ⁹,
 and folk the spear-way ¹⁰
 thronging

I meet and scan
 their faces, but no face ever
 like hers behold I,
 so nought is left me
 I can but call her name
 and wave my sleeve in vain.

Amid the hill ways
 by autumn's red leaves
 hidden
 my wandering love
 I fain would seek but
 know not
 those mountain-ways I
 know not. ¹¹

With fall autumnal
 of the ruddy forest leaves
 the runner see I,
 and think of a day of
 trysting
 that never more shall be. ¹²

¹ Karu is in Yamato (not far, probably, from the then City Royal, Fuji-hara. Its homophon *karu* (karu-gamo) is the

dusky mallard (Br.), hence the application to it of the m. k., of which the value is given in the second line of the translation.

² *Sato* is more than a mere village; it signified a district containing fifty houses at least, in early days probably houses inhabited by courtiers and officials with their servants and cultivators.

³ There is a difficulty in the lay, that of the need of visiting the wife secretly. This appears, however, to have been the custom in ancient Japan, where the wife often remained with her parents long after her quasi-marriage. The whole subject of early marriage is briefly dealt with in the Introduction. The author of the *Kogi* asks with reference to this lay: If Hitômaro does not display genius in this revelation of deep emotion, what poet is there who does? The envoys suggest, *more Japonico*, rather than express their meaning.

The wife (who was, perhaps, a concubine, having borne no children), must be taken to have died in Autumn.

The term *me*, woman, is used, not by way of depreciation, but as an expression of intimacy and affection.

⁴ More correctly *Kadzura japonica* (Br.), a trailing creeper of which the end is difficult to find amid the bushes, and therefore often made the subject of a simile illustrating indefiniteness in space or time.

⁵ See List of m. k., sub voce *kagirohi*.

⁶ With the flexuous slenderness of various seaweeds the Japanese poet often compares the graceful lines of female beauty.

⁷ *Tamadzusa*, the 'sceptre' (one is reminded of the Homeric σκῆπτρον) was a rod or branch of whitewood (Catalpa, or *Prunus cerasus*), decorated in various ways, perhaps with beads or *haliotis* pearls after a fashion conveying a meaning to the recipient, or guaranteeing any verbal message that might be delivered; or a writing might be attached—but this would be in later times probably. The word *tamadzusa* in modern Japanese means a letter. A hank of *yufu* (Broussonetia) yarn, hung outside the door, usually indicated the house of call. This mode of communication was commonly employed by lovers. De Gubernatis, in his *Mythologie des Plantes*, tom. ii. p. 263, writes: 'Dans la campagne d'Arpinum (S. Italy) les jeunes filles connaissent le degré d'amour de leurs fiancés à la couleur du ruban dont ils entourent la branche d'olivier qu'ils

apportent de l'église à la bien-aimée le dimanche des Palmes.' Posies or nosegays with amorous meaning, or with a love letter attached, were common in England up to a recent period.

⁸ A tentative rendering of the m. k.—whitewood bow.

⁹ Of the m. k. of Unebi I have not attempted to give the value. See *tamatasuki*, List of m. k.

¹⁰ See *tamahokono*, List of m. k.

¹¹ An allusion probably to her wandering in the darkness of death along paths he cannot follow.

¹² He is reminded of an autumnal meeting (to cull the ruddy sprays) arranged by a like messenger.

28

A Second Lay by Hitómaro on the death
of his wife ¹.

When we twain wended	(where men see far the
the ways of life together,	flames glow) ²
and hand in hand	thy bier is borne
upon the elm trees crowd-	mid banners white fune-
ing	real ³ ,
the dike's ridge yonder	at break of dawn
anigh our cottage rising	who rose as morning fowl
did gaze together,	fly,
were thoughts of love as	must now be hidden
frequent	as day by sunset hills—
as leaves in spring	a little son
upon the thick pleached	is thy memorial,
branches,	he weeps and begs
and on thee leaning	and seeks for comfort from
my soul upon thee rested—	me,
but sad the doom is	but I can nothing give
that none may win escape	him,
from ;	no toy to cheer him,
across the moorland	I can but clasp him to me

and fondle him
 as doth a man, ungently—
 how desolate our chamber
 where close our pillows
 did erstwhile lie together;
 from dawn to darkness
 the day is full of sorrow,
 from dusk to day-break
 I sob and sigh unsleeping,
 and know not whither
 to turn me in my misery!
 and love thee ever
 though never may I see
 thee.

on high Hakahi
 (though cock-crow hill its
 name be)

I know thou sleepest,
 for men such tidings bring
 me;
 the steep heights stony
 to climb with painful tra-
 vail

but bootless toil is,
 for thee whom living
 loved I

I may not see,
 e'en for a moment dimly
 my eyes let rest upon
 thee.

The same moon 'tis
 this autumn night illum-
 eth
 that shone a year gone,
 but thee and me a year's
 space
 that year agoone divideth!

I turn me homewards,¹
 and round our chamber
 gazing,
 without the alcove
 my eyes upon thy pillow
 upon thy pillow linger.

¹ The subject of the lay must have been a *chakusai* or true wife, one who had borne a child. The m. k. can only be partially rendered in this lay; of Hakahi, lit. wing-flap, the m. k. is *ohotori*, great bird, i. e. cock, 'cock-crow' is an imitation of the m. k. There may be an opposition intended between 'cock-crow' and 'sleepest'. There is another envoy in which the husband declares that returning from his wife's tomb on Mount Hikite, he finds life worthless. Mount Hikite is a portion of Mount Hakahi.

² This line is an attempt to combine the literal meaning of the text with the explanation given by the Kogi, which regards the passage as indicating an extensive moorland, being one

over which for long distances the glow of torch or beacon would be visible.

³ Or screens (of white cloth ?), according to the Kogi.

⁴ After accomplishing his week's mourning by her tomb. The note to l. 43 (vol. of texts) is too positive as to the husband's hope of seeing his wife's spirit. The Mikado, and perhaps his relatives, alone appear to have been endowed with a *mi-tama*, though ghosts are once or twice mentioned in the Manyōshū. But a ghost—or attenuated body—is not identical with a *mi-tama*.

29

By Hitōmaro on the death of an *uneme*¹ who came to City-Royal from Shigatsu².

Her cheek was glow-	though scarce upon
ing ³	her
as spray of autumn forest,	had ever dwelt my eyes—
her form was graceful	but oh how desolate
as bending bamboo's stem,	the heart of him,
I know not how	how turned to misery
so sad a fate was hers,	the love he cherished,
for life long seeming	whose arm with hers
as coil of cord of yufu,	made pillow ⁴
like dew of morning	(soft shining pillow) ⁵ ,
that perisheth ere even,	her lover whom she loved
like mist of evening	(sword-girt ⁶ and youth-
that perisheth with the	ful)—
morrow ⁴	untimely victim
hath passed and van-	the maid hath passed
ished—	away,
as twang of bow-end	her little life
noiséd,	like morning dew is va-
of bow of whitewood,	nish'd,
the tidings brought me	like sunset mist is gone!
sorrow	

Yon maid of Shigatsu, and by the stream to
 Shigatsu in Sasanami, wander
 she hath the world and think of her 'tis sad.
 left—

¹ A palace waiting-woman or court-maid. Dr. Aston's derivation *yone-me* means rice-woman, rice-bearer. But why not simply *uneme* = arm-woman, i. e. bearer. In N. II. 209 we read, 'For waiting-women in the palace let there be furnished the sisters or daughters of district officials . . . good-looking women [with one male and two female servants—slaves?—to attend on them], and let 100 houses be allotted to provide rations for each waiting-woman.'

² In Afumi (Ômi), probably a ferry or a village by a ferry.

³ This rendering is doubtful though supported by some commentators. Comp. text (vol. of texts).

⁴ In the above lines the implications in the text are rendered.

⁵ The m. k. is lit. a fine fabric coverlet, mantle, or plaid, or perhaps sleeping dress. It is applied to anything connected with sleeping. Here its value cannot be fully given without excessive paraphrase, but of this and a conjoined m. k. the suggestion is contained in the translation.

⁶ The m. k. sword-girt is really a decorative epithet of *mi*, person, self, but in this instance, as in many others, the suggestion, to the Japanese reader would be, though indistinctly, obliquely as it were, after the manner of Japanese poetry, an application of the m. k. to the lover. The *uneme* was, possibly, a celebrated beauty whose early death excited commiseration. There are two envoys: the first (here given) upon the grief caused by the sight of the Shiga river—the *uneme* came from Shigatsu and was buried there; the second echoes the poet's regret for the untimely death of a beautiful maid.

⁷ So rendering the m. k. *sasanami*, which Mabuchi, however, explains as *sasanabiki*, dwarf-bamboo-bending. The stream alluded to is unknown.

30

By Hitómaro on seeing a corpse lying on the shore
of the island of Samine by Sánuki.

On Sanuki's shore-	now hither, thither,
sands	with turn of helm I
fine seaweed folk do	wander,
gather,	and many an island
and fair the land is	I pass the waters' crowd-
whereof the eye ne'er	ing;
wearieth,	Samine's isle ³
a land divine,	of all the isles is fairest,
most excellent, exalted,	whose pebbly strand
of Iyo's faces ¹	I tread and thereon build
one face it is as ever	me
have said our fathers,	a scanty shelter,
as earth, sky, sun, and	and gaze around and hear
moon	the ceaseless rumour
for ever perfect.—	of the waves the shore-
and now from Naka's	sands beating—
haven	where hath he pillow
the ship hath started,	on couch of rough stones
and over sea I oar me,	made him
by timely breezes ²	who lieth here
blown towards the cloudy	upon the strand flung
sea-marge,	prostrate,
and mid the waters	his home-place knew I
the waves I mark ay	I would the sad news tell
restless,	there,
and on the shore-sands	or knew his wife what
the whitening breakers	ways to wend to seek him
hear;	she would come surely,
the whaley sea	but the spear-ways she
how vast it is and awful!	know'th not,

and anxious waiteth	have gathered for her
for his home coming yearn-	husband
ing,	for yet the season lasteth !
his winsome wife she	_____
waiteth !	Upon the shore-sands
_____	whereon the waves are
	rolling,
Dwelt his wife near,	are ever rolling,
upon Sãmîne's hillside	his pillow hath he made
fresh wild herbs ⁴ would	him,
she	belike, to take his rest.

¹ (K. p. 21) 'Next they [Izanagi and Izanami] gave birth to the island Futa-na in Iyo (sometimes in the old days designating the whole of Shikoku, of which it is now one of the four provinces). This island has one body and four faces, and each face has a name [the names being, as it were, in wedded pairs]. So the Land of Iyo is called the Lovely Princess ; the Land of Sanuki is called Prince Good-Boiled-Rice ; the Land of Aha is called the Princess-of-Great-Food ; the Land of Tosa the Brave Good Youth.' Sanuki is by some derived from *saho no ki*, saplings used for poles to propel boats. Speculation on the meaning of very many of the old names of places, gods and persons, is, however, very unfruitful, for want of data, i. e. for want of earlier specimens than any extant of the dialects spoken in ancient Japan. Such speculation, too, is extremely facile, from the number of homophons in Japanese. Mr. Chamberlain has done his learned best in this matter, and better theories than his, conjectural though these largely must be, are not likely for some time to be forthcoming.

² See text.

³ Sãmîne, off Sãnuki (NW. portion of Shikoku).

⁴ The plant named is *uhagi* (*Boltonia cantoniensis*?) a composite plant used as a vegetable. The plural form of the word *tsuma* (wife) is used in the text—but I take it as an honour-singular, like *kora* in the preceding lay. She would have gathered herbs to save him from hunger.

Several short lays follow, which are worth giving as they refer to the death of Hitómaro.

A Lay on his approaching death by Hitómaro.

On the rocky heights
of Kamo's ¹ hill must rest,
belike, my body—
unknowing my sad fate
alas ! doth she await me !

¹ Kamo is said to be identical with the present Kamoshima, an island off the coast of Ihami. There is still a *yashiro* (shrine) there known as Hitómaro (written 人九) Daimyojin, with an image of the deified poet. The people there say the image is of great antiquity. Another reading is Imo hill (sister or wife-hill).

Kamo read *ka mo* expresses doubt and anxiety, hence a word-play rendered in 'belike'. In the *dai* (argument) the word for death is *mi makaru*, but the character is *shinuru*, used only for persons of or below the sixth rank ; for the fifth and fourth 卒 is used, for the third and higher ranks 薨 (*sugi-maseru*, passed away).

Two Lays by the Lady Yosami ¹, wife of Hitómaro,
on the death of her husband.

Each day, each day
I hoped to bid thee welcome
to thine own homeplace—
who now as the dead shells empty
of Ishi art men tell me.

¹ Yosami must have been a second *chakusai*, or true wife, recognized under the Chinese reformation of 645. The meaning of the *tanka* seems to be that death leaves the body a mere empty shell as it were—a Buddhist notion. The River Ishi flows at the foot of Kamoyama.

The second lay was composed after Yosami had gone down to Ihami upon hearing of her husband's death.

O would I might
again my lord's face see,
it may not be so—
yet, oh, were the mist but lifted
from Ishi's flowing waters¹.

¹ She would at least gaze 'upon the stream familiar to her dead husband.

A Lay made by Tajihî no Mabito, as an answer
from Hitómaro.

Fine pebbles gather¹
rolled down by Ishi's waters
to heap beside me,
that some kind soul may tell her
hereby her husband lieth.

¹ To serve as a cairn to mark his resting-place.

Another anonymous lay is cited from a *makimono* (MS. roll) apparently representing the feelings of Yosami.

In heaven-distant
march-land of moor and waste
my lord is left—
and ever shall I love him
and broken-hearted mourn him.

o

During the residence at the Palace of Nara.

31

A Lay indited on the Death of Prince Shiki¹ in the long-moon month of the first year of Reiki².

On Takamato— his sheaf of arrows
where roves the hunter, in archer-hands, the deer
grasping to stalk and chase—

on Takamato,	but wherefore ask him,
though autumn tints the	ask him of things unhappy,
moorland,	his tale with tears,
the gleam I noted	but filled mine eyes with
of flamings springtime fires,	tears,
and fain would know	his mournful tidings
of passing wayfarer	but wrung my heart with
the spear-ways wending	sorrow—
what might they mean,	‘the funeral train ’tis
these flamings? ³	our noble Prince that
fast fell his tears	bear eth
his fine-stuff sleeves be-	to his last rest,
drenching	and the fires of their
like summer showers	torches
as there he stood and	yon moorland slopes illu-
answer’d—	mine!’

¹ Son of the Mikado Temmu (673–86), and father of the Mikado Kōnin (770–81). See N. II. 379. He died in the long-moon month (9th) of 715.

The first six lines are a quasi-epithetical preface or introduction to ‘Takamato’, the name of a hill in Yamato.

² A.D. 715. The Lay is in the Collection of Kasa no Kanamura Asomi—perhaps by Kanamura himself.

³ It was autumn, and what seemed to be bush-fires usual in spring to renovate vegetation, suggested the inquiry.

BOOK III, PART I

32

By Hitōmaro, on the occasion of a Hunt by Prince Naga¹ on the moor of Kárijī

My noble Prince	child of the sun-orb
in peace and power who	that shineth in high
ruleth,	heaven,

<p>hath ta'en his horses hath ranged his horses with him ² on grassy Káriji wild fowl and stag to chase— as stag that boweth his knees upon the ground, as quail that creepeth amid the rustling jungle— so I too staglike the knee do bow before him, so I too crouching like quail amid the jungle, my service loyal to him do humbly tender³, and lift my eyes up</p>	<p>as to the sun-bright heaven, lift eyes as shining as mirror truly polished—⁴ is he not winsome, my Prince, as flowers in springtime, my noble lord and Prince ? ———— The moon, see, crosseth large-orbed the shining heaven, we will set cords to 't— and draw the very moon down to canopy his litter !</p>
---	--

¹ No doubt an adulatory effusion written to order. Naga was the fourth son of the Mikado Temmu, he died in 715. Kariji Moor is in Yamato.

² So, literally, but horses and attendants are meant. The first part is introductory to the rest.

³ The knee-bending stag (a distinctive attitude) and the creeping quail are common illustrations of dutifulness in ancient Japanese poetry.

⁴ The implication may be that his loyal heart is as free from stain as a well-polished mirror (a treasure in ancient Japan) from flaw.

The conceit of the envoy is to honour the Prince by proposing, after the moon (harvest- or hunter's moon ?) has risen, at the close of a late hunt, perhaps, to bring down the broad orb to serve as canopy, or cover, or roof to his *mikoshi* or litter.

For the m. k. see text, especially as to the one (*hisakata*) rendered 'sunbright'.

大香久

十歳買

右に代へよめり

名目の暇ひ

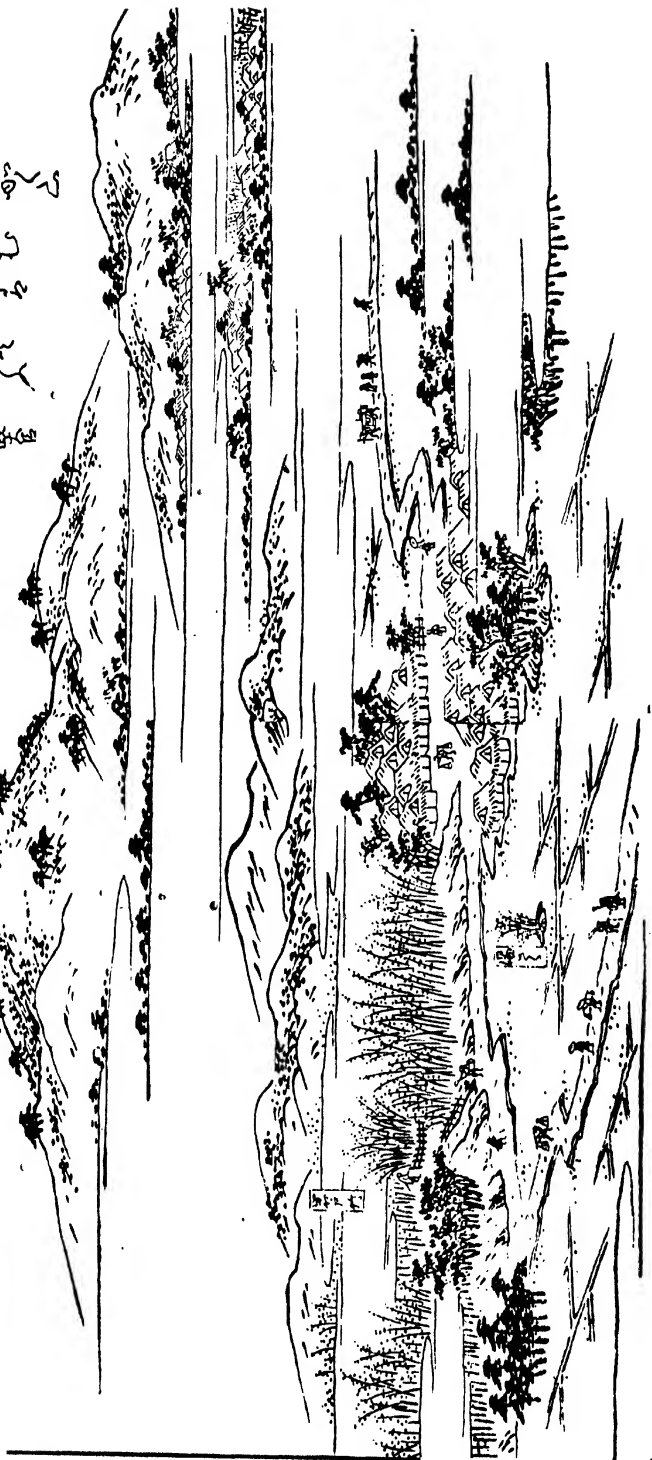
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大香久



Mount Amanokagu—'the Celestial Hill.' All the details of this woodcut, as of the others illustrating the Anthology, are wonderfully true to the character of the landscape in the more fertile parts of Yamato.

The verse is taken from a Collection of 'Thousand-year Congratulatory Odes'.

<i>Kimi ga yo ha</i>	My dread Lord's life-days
<i>Amanokaguyama</i>	I would they endless were
<i>idzuru hi no</i>	as the days that riseth
<i>teramu kagiri ha</i>	the sun in brightness riseth
<i>tsukizhi zo to omofu.</i>	o'er Amanokaguyama!

(By the former Prime Minister (Daijōdaijin) Ohomiya.)

The mountain is 'hidden in heaven', yet the sun shows daily over it.

33

By Kamo no Kimitari-hito upon Mount Kagu.¹

In misty springtime	of palace folk,
on heavenly Kagu's hill,	with pole and oar forth
where long ago	furnished,
the great high gods	all desolate on the waters
descended,	unmanned there lie the
the breezes murmur	barges.
among the clustering pine-	

woods,	That no man oareth
the waters ruffling	or boat or barge, 'tis
of the pool beneath the	plain,
hill,	for diving wild-fowl,
while cherry blossoms	the oshi ³ and takahe ⁴ ,
still whelm the groves in	stand perch'd upon their
beauty—	borders.

the waters midmost	
the wild-duck calls his	How long hath lasted
mate,	this awful solitude?
the strand anear	the moss hath gather'd,
loud whirr the flock of aji ² ,	on Kagu's straight-shafted
but on the waters	cedars
no barge awaits the	will tell the mournful tale!
pleasure	

¹ Of the author of the lay nothing is known. The lament is on the ruined chapel of Takechi (see 24).

In the first envoy the desolation is shown by the birds perching on the royal wherries; in the second the moss growing on the trunks of the cryptomerias shows how long it is since the burial took place.

² A kind of teal (*Anas formosa*?).

³ *Anas galericulata*.

⁴ Some kind of wild-duck or teal or widgeon.

34

To Prince Nihitabe.

My noble Prince!
 in peace and power who
 ruleth,
 child of the sun-orb
 which shineth in high
 heaven—

where mid the hills
 our Prince to rest him
 deigneth,
 from the sun-bright skies
 adown the air now falleth
 white snow incessant—

as frequent, Prince, thy
 presence
 bestow upon the Palace.

So thick it falleth
 the snow the wild woods
 hideth
 on Yátsuri's hillside,
 and well 'tis now to see
 the court-folk brave the
 tempest!

35

By the Chiunagon Ohotomo no Kyô, on the occasion
 of a Royal Visit to the Country-Palace at Yôshino
 in the *yayoi* month¹.

Yon country Palace
 fair Yôshino² midmost
 standeth
 by hills'engirdled,
 hills excellent to look on,
 by sweet streams
 water'd,
 whose flow to watch is
 pleasant—

as earth and heaven
 for years a thousand thou-
 sand

may it endure,
 unchanged may it endure
 our Sovran's country
 Palace.

As Kisa's³ waters
 seen long ago once more
 my eyes do gladden—
 O brighter glow the waters,
 more shining rolls the
 river!

¹ The *yayohi* is the third or 'blossoming' month. According to the *Zoku Nihongi* the year was 1 Jinki (724).

² There is a m. k. of Yóshino in the text which would make the meaning lit. 'Yóshinu fair Yóshinu'.

³ On the river Akidzu there still exists a village called *Kisatani mura*—'village in the vale of Kisa'. The envoy describes the pleasure of the poet (who may have been long absent on provincial duty) on revisiting scenes familiar to him as a courtier.

36

By Yámabe no Sukune Akáhito, on viewing Fuji-yama.¹

Since earth and heaven	the white clouds wayless
were parted long ago	hov'ring,
hath Fuji reared	and on the mountain
its lofty peak and glorious,	thesnows lie everlasting—
divine and lonely,	and so for ever
midmost Surúga's land—	I would there ran the
as wondering	story,
I search the sunbright	of the lofty peak of
heavens,	Fuji!
I note the mountain	On Tago's ² strand
the very sun's light hiding,	I wander forth to gaze—
I note the mountain	lo, whitest white •
the very moon's light hid-	high Fuji's sunmit shineth
ing ² ,	with white snow newly
about the mountain	fallen!

¹ The first of the lays attributed to Akáhito, one of the most famous of the poets of the Manyōshū. Little is known of him. Sukune is a title—younger prince (F. II. 310), also a *kabane* which—as here probably—often became part of the *uji* or family name. The Kōgi has a long note on the name Yámabe and the ways of writing it ideographically. The name Yámabe no Sukune is found in the Nihongi (under 13th year

of Temmu). In the *Jimmei-jisho* ('Dict. of Nat. Biogr.') he is considered nearly equal in poetic merit to Hitômaro, the prince of Japanese poets, part of whose name (Kakinomoto) he adopted. In Tempyô (729-49) he was in Yôshinu, and later in the East-land, where he saw Fujiyama.

² So lofty is the mountain its peak part hides even the light of the lofty orbs of sun and moon as they fulfil their course.

³ A quintain almost identical with the envoy will be found in the *Hiyakunin Isshiu* ('A Hundred Poems by a Hundred Poets'). See *infra* Hiyakunin, No. XIX. Tago (Tako) is a favourite place whence to view Fuji, situate on the coast of Sûruga.

37

A Lay upon Fujiyama.¹

Where Kahi marches	describe yon peerless
—of savoury shell-fish	mountain
minding— ²	which his dread seat
with the land of Sûruga,	the awful god hath made
amid the lands encircling,	him—
on high great Fuji	anigh the mountain
its tow'ring peak exalteth,	the lake men Se ³ call lieth,
where hither, thither,	whose waters Fuji
the heaven-clouds come	doth with its high slopes
and go,	border,
where fowl high-flying	and from its flank forth
to reach the peak soar	a river ⁴ roareth seawards,
vainly,	by wayfarers crossed
where burning fires	or east or westwards
the snows etern would	faring,
vanquish,	all our vast Dawnland
where falling snows	the land of Old Yamato
the fires etern would van-	that great god ruleth
quish—	who hath his seat on Fuji,
what words may fitly	the chiefest treasure

of all our land is Fuji, the fallen snow that lieth
 that hill exalted in the month of mid-
 o'er all the hills of Sûruga, year⁵,
 a joy unchang'd and when the moon is fullest
 changeless! melteth,
 — and the self same night
 on Fuji's peak snow falleth⁶!

¹ Said to be found in the collection of Tsukasa no Ason Kana-mura, though contained in the Anthology of Mushimaro.

² Kahi (Kai) is one of the eight provinces adjoining the mountain; the homophon means 'a shell', hence the m. k., of which the value is attempted in the next line. In ancient Japan shell-fish were esteemed somewhat of a luxury. But *kahi* was more probably the equivalent of *tani*, a valley.

³ There is in the Kogi a long note upon Se, the upshot of which is that it is a lake or pool in the vicinity, and is not the 'divine water', more properly *narusawa*, said to be found in a hollow place at the bottom of the crater, surrounded by small shrubs, and containing a huge boulder in its midst. *Narusawa* means 'resounding-swamp', and the name, we are told, is due to the roar of the steam and greenish vapours that bubble through the water, a sort of *solfatara* which may very well have existed in the more active days of the volcano within the present crater (more probably in the neighbourhood of the hump known as Hôyeisan, caused by a flash-eruption in the fourth year of the nengo (year-period) so called (1707). According to the *Wakansanzaidzue* ('Chinese and Japanese Pictorial Encyclopaedia of the Three Powers, Heaven, Earth, and Man', published in eighty volumes in 1714, founded upon the Chinese 'San ts'ai t'o hwui') the creation of Fuji took place in the reign of the Mikado Kôsei (in B. C. 285), and eruptions from the summit occurred in 18 Yenryaku (A. D. 800), and again in 5 Jôgwan (A. D. 865). See my *Fugaku Hyakkei*, or 'Hundred Views of Fujiyama'. There are said to be eight tarns or lakes round Fujiyama. See also the story of Taketori, *infra*.

⁴ The river is the Fujigawa, forded on the passage along the Tôkaido, the great Eastern sea-way connecting the Eastern and Western capitals, the capital of the Shogun (Yedo now Tôkyô), with that of the Mikado (Kyôto or Saikyô). Of course this road

was not in existence in the Manyô age, but it probably follows the old Eastland track.

⁵ Fifteenth of the sixth month.

⁶ This tradition is paralleled by another—that the stones constantly rolling down the flanks of Fuji during the daytime roll up again during the night, and so preserve the height and mass of the mountain unchanged.

38

By Akáhito, on visiting the Hot wells of Iyo.¹

Many the lands are	while idly gazing
within our Sovran's sway	upon the grove there
lie,	clustering
and healing waters	above the Hot-wells,
in every land are flowing,	of the omi tree ⁴ I mind me
but the land of Iyo ²	where rivalling song-
most excellent in moun-	sters
tains,	once carolled, carolling
in islands excellent,	still there ⁵ ,
its lofty peak ³ show'th	and ever may they
towering,	from such a tree still
in craggy steepness,	carol
o'er the knoll of Izaniha,	the Sovran gladdening
where long ago	who shall these happy
the Learned Prince stood	waters
musing	bless with his godlike
in reverie poetic—	Presence.

¹ The poet, on a visit to the famous hot springs in Iyo, remembers that here was once a favourite resort of the Learned Prince, Toyotomimi, and, later, of the Mikado Jomei (629-41). On the latter occasion the Mikado was much charmed with the song of a pair of birds, the 'ikaru' (Japanese hawfinch), and the 'shime' (common hawfinch) who haunted an 'omi' (note 4)

tree or grove near the springs. In the Nihongi, under the year 593, the story of Toyotomimi—'Learned Prince', otherwise Shōtoku Daishi, the real founder of Buddhism in Japan—is told. He was the second child of the Mikado Tachibana Yōmei, 586-7. His mother, on going round the 'forbidden precinct', reached the door of the stables, when she was suddenly delivered of him without effort. He was able to speak as soon as he was born, and was so wise when he grew up that he could attend to the suits of ten men at once and decide them all without error—*mirabile dictu*. He also knew beforehand what was going to happen. He became thoroughly proficient in the Inner Doctrine (Buddhism) and the Outer Doctrine (Confucianism). He was known as the Senior Prince, Mumayado Toyotomimi (stable door or sharp-eared Prince). Almost verbatim from N. II. 122-3. His death is recorded under the year 621.

² See *ante* Lay 30.

³ Ishidzuchi yama is the name of the hill.

⁴ *Omi no ki*, the courtier's tree, a *sauara* (*Chamaecyparis pisifera*?) that grew near the residence of the Wokamoto Mikado, Jomei (629-41), when he visited the springs with his consort.

39

By Akāhito, on going up to Kāmiwoka¹.

In Mimoro ²	I hoped my farings
on the hill of Kaminabi	to Asuka ceaseless would
the leaves are crowded	be,
of the tsuga trees there	now desolate, deserted—
standing,	
and countless ever	where tower the moun-
as the leaves are of the	tains
tsuga ³ ,	and far-off waters glisten
and endless ever	in days of spring time
as the coils of tamakad-	where fair to see the hills
zura ⁴ ,	are,

in autumn moonlight	on ancient memories
the rivers sparkle bravely,	musing.
where morning clouds	—
rise	Like mists arising
to hide the noisy cranes,	from every pool that
and mists of evening	stayeth
the croaking frogs to	Asuka's waters
cover,	the mists of memory bring
the scene so fair	me!
now filleth me with	sad thoughts that pass
sorrow	away not ⁵ .

¹ Kamioka.

² Mimoro, in Yamato, seat of the god Ômiwa. The name means sacred cave [dwelling?]: according to (F. I. 146 n.) a sacred grove.

³ *Abies tsuga*: there is a jingle here, *tsuga* = *tsugitsugi*, which I do not imitate.

⁴ *Cercidiphyllum japonicum*, a long trailing sarmentaceous hedge-plant.

Both lay and envoy allude to the deserted condition of the palace of the Mikado Temmu (673-86) at Kiyomihara.'

⁵ The text of the *hanka* cannot be rendered literally: as close an imitation as possible is given.

BOOK III, PART II

40

By Kanamura, on embarking at Tsúnuga in Echizen¹.

From Tsúnuga's haven	whence men huge whales
to fare o'er Koshi's waters	drive shorewards—
the great ship starteth,	as pant the rowers
with stout oars manned	Tayuhi's ² bay is reached,
full amply	where high the fumes
to ride the waters	rise,

the fumes of fires blazing a lonely traveller nothing
 the saltpans under thesceneme pleasureth,
 which fisher-maids are toYamato³,landofislands,
 tending— with longing thoughts I
 on grassy pillow turn me.

¹ He is homesick. The m. k. in this lay can scarcely be rendered. One suggests—in the usual aside—heroic strength in relation to *ta* (arm) of Tayuñi; another 'a' phrasal m. k. consisting of three verses emphasizes the sentiment of the last two lines. Tayuhi is in Échizen. Koshi is an old name for the three modern provinces of Échizen, Etekiü, and Echigo. Of Kanámura (Kasá no Asomi Kanamura) nothing is known.

² That is, the view of the salt-pans (often cited as a picturesque element in Japanese poetry) affords me no pleasure, having not my love to share it with. This I believe to be the meaning of the text, supported by a short lay (the sixth) in the seventh book, in which, for a like reason, the poet can take no joy from contemplation of the beauty of a moonlight night.

³ Shimane may also be either a place in (there is a *Ken* of that name still), or an old name of, Yamato.

41

By Akáhito, on ascending to the moor of Asuka.

Upon Mikasa¹ unmated sitteth,
 (of royal cap reminding) so I each morn unmated,
 by cloudy Kásuka², and all the day through,
 where springtime bring- and every night the night
 eth mist, through,
 morn after morn still am filled with sorrow,
 the kaho bird doth twitter, forthatwith thee I am not
 with heart a-drifting whom daylong nightlong
 like clouds that hover love I.
 flutt'ring

¹ Mikasa may mean a canopy or sunshade held over the Sovran or his litter. The translation is, in part, imitative.

In the Nihongi (Iida's edition) under the year 649 I find the following *uta* :—

on the mountain river
two pairing wild-fowl are there
of equal beauty—
and she and I were paired too,
but she hath been ta'en from me!

² In Yamato, a part of the Mikasa group.

42

A Lay of Invocation by Sâkanohe no Irátsume ¹.

On Takechiho,	before thy altar,
where long ago de-	thou god from heaven
scended'st	descended,
from sunbright heaven,	and full-thrid bead-lace
thou dread god ² , on our	of bamboocirclets wearing
land—	I bow me lowly,
of sacred cleyera	as bend the deer I bend me,
fresh flow'ry sprays I	about me casting
gather,	my woman's scarf of
with whitecloths ³ deck,	prayer ⁴
and hang with shirring	and ask the god, dear,
tresses,	that I again may meet thee
full jars of sake	again that we may meet,
in due array presenting	dear.

¹ Daughter of Saho Dainagon no Sukune Yasumaro, younger sister of Tabihito no Kyô and aunt and mother-in-law of Yakamochi no Kyô. She married first Prince Hôdzumi, then a Fujihara, and lastly Ohotomo Sukune Namaro, and bore him two daughters, of whom one was Sakanohe no Oho Iratsume, often mentioned in the Anthology. Iratsume does not appear to be a title but rather a designation, 'beloved lady'. She had a house at Sakanohe village.

² The god was Ame no Oshihi no Mikoto ancestor of the Ohotomo house.

³ Of paper mulberry bark.

⁴ A long veil or scarf, hiding the face, reaching to the hem of the skirt, used in prayer, originally (said to be) part of the ordinary dress of women.

43

The Ascent¹ of Mqunt Tsukuba.²

In cockcrow Eastland,	and now when spring-
though many the lofty	time, ³
hills are,	escaping clutch of winter ⁴ ,
of all the noblest	hath come, yet snow still
is the twin-peaked hill of	upon the mountain lieth,
Tsukuba ³ ,	I will not further,
and ever hath been	untried the mountain,
from the age of the gods	wend me,
till now—	but climb the hill ways
whence all the cham-	and strain to reach the
paign	twin-peak
may men with full delight	amid the snows un-
view,	vanished.

¹ Mentioned in the *Nihongi* under the year 737. In 739 he was made Mimbu no Shōbu (Under-Secretary of the Home Office).

² The double-peaked mountain in Hitachi familiar to the inhabitants of Tokyo, and a conspicuous object from Yokohama.

³ More lit. 'twin-godded'; one peak is the seat of a god, the other of a goddess (see *post*, Lay 110).

⁴ From this point the text is obscure; two lines are interpolated by Keichiu. I have slightly amplified the translation to give what appears to be the full sense.

44

A Travel-lay, by [Wakamiya Toshinwo Maro ?].¹

Most wonderful	which pass we, rounding
the sea is, realm of gods—	the white surfed shores of
midmost whose waters	Iyo,
Ahaji's isle upriseth,	and from Akashi

(of the bright'ning
 moon-orb ²
 that later riseth minding)
 we oar as falleth,
 the dusk of even falleth,
 the tide it floweth,
 and as the daylight
 followeth . .
 the tide it ebbeth,
 as daylight showeth,
 ebbeth,
 what waves and mighty
 the flowing tide upheav-
 eth,
 roar mid the rocks
 Ahaji's shores defend-
 ing—

I cannot sleep,
 when will the night-gloom
 vanish
 and day appear—
 on Asa's moor by Tagi ³
 betimes the pheasants,
 will each their mate be
 calling,
 up men, the oars man,
 and pant we forth to sea,
 for calm is the morning
 sea-floor

The isles we coast,
 round Minume's lofty cape
 our bark we oar—
 the cries of cranes I hear,
 is this beloved Yamato!

¹ The lay is attributed to Wakamiya, of whom, however, nothing is known.

² According to the Kogi the seventeenth day is that of the *tachi* (when one may see the moon-rise ere retiring), the eighteenth that of the *wi* (when moon-rise may be seen just before retiring), the nineteenth that of the *ne* (when moon-rise may be seen after retiring to sleep)—alluding to the changes in the time of rising of the satellite immediately after full moon. The translation is an attempt to give the value of the *makura kotoba*.

³ In Settsu. The cry of the cranes reminds the traveller—always in ancient Japan a reluctant one—of the homeland, Yamato, where stands City-Royal.

BOOK III, PART III

45

By the Lady Nifu¹ on the Passing of Ihata no
Ohokimi.

O graceful, comely
my ruddy lord he was—
and now come tidings
on Hâtsuse's hill secluded
in loneliness
and blessedness he lieth,
such are the tidings
the sceptred runner bring-
eth—

what sad words these?
or false or foolish marvel-
ling
in grief I ponder,
and earth and heaven
seem full,
seem full of sorrow,
to the very clouds above,
as far as heaven,
as far as earth extend-
eth—

so forth I wend me,
on nearer ways or further,
on staff still leaning
or by a staff unholpen²,
the evening oracle
of wayfarers' talk to listen³,
or rock to question

and thence draw helping
answer—⁴

I will a shrine set
will set within my dwell-
ing
invoke the gods there,
and by my pillow
range sacrificial jars,
and don my bead-lace
of bamboo-rings close
thriddled,
and suppliant arms
upbear with cords of yufu,
and in my hands
will take the sacred rush-
haulm⁵

that in the meadow
of Heaven's *sasara*⁶ grow-
eth,

may, in the waters
of Heaven's own stream
eternal

would lave me pure—
for my sweet lord to pray
who lieth on steepy
Taka!

Oh would they false	Thick as the cedars
were!	hide Furu's hill upon me
these woesome tidings	sad thoughts come
false were,	crowding—
alas, he lieth	nor may I chase them
on Taka's steep out-	from me
stretched,	for they are thoughts of
alone my lord he lieth!	thee.

¹ She flourished in Tempyô (A.D. 729-49). There is, however, another Nifu, who was a man, mentioned in the list of *ohokimi*. Of Ihata nothing is known.

² This became a common phrase—*tsuwe tsuki mo tsukazu mo yukite*, meaning 'at all events', 'in any case'—or, perhaps, 'if blind or old', *tsuwe tsuki* = *mékura* (eye-dark, i. e. blind).

³ Going forth into the crossways to listen to the utterances of passing wayfarers, and gather from these such guidance as may be possible.

⁴ A mikado (Keikô, 71-130) is said to have found a boulder on Kashiha moor and to have declared—'If We are to succeed in destroying the rebels (*tsusli-gumo*, earth-spiders or earth-cave-dwellers), when We kick this stone may it fly up like a Kashiha (oak) leaf.' He then kicked it, the boulder flew up, and the cave-men were subdued (N. I. 195). [In a work of the fifteenth century we read—'There is a stone kept at the shrine of Sai (Sahe?) no Kami (Priapus) by lifting up which people practise divination—if they succeed, good luck will attend them.' With regard to the road-oracle—Chikamatsu in one of his plays, *Ilorikaha nami no tsudzumi*, describes a *Kataki uchi* (vendetta) party, who hesitate on meeting a group of peasant women talking together about having had no opportunity of beating their sandals (*waraji uchi*), or words ominous of their inability to kill (*uchi*) their enemy. Afterwards they draw courage from the words of another party who are talking about an ignorant barber cutting (*kiru* = cut or kill) his customer by the awkward use of the razor.]

⁵ 'Sacred rush' written 'seven joints'. The Kogi gets over the difficulty by reading 'seven' as '*iha*' (stone)—the two characters might then be read *iha ahi*, from which the transi-

tion to *ihahi* (blessed, sacrificial, sacred, &c.) is no feat in Japanese etymology. The rush was used to sprinkle water in the Lesser (or personal) Purification. See K. 280, and Florenz, (*T. A. S. J.* XXVII), also Aston, *Shinto*.

⁶ A moor in skyland. Keichiu, however, says there is a place called Sasara in Yamato, and that its transference to heaven arose from a confusion with Sasara no ye (the broom in the moon); Sasara ye otoko is the man in the moon who holds the broom, a Taouist fancy.

46

An Elegy by Yamákuma no Ohokimi on the Death of Ihata no Ohokimi.¹

Ihare's track	in the late-moon ³ month,
—all ivied o'er the rocks	when showers fall apace,
are—	the sprays of autumn
each morn he trod,	would pluck and weave in
I would he trod them ever,	chaplets—
and I might meet him—	and so for ever,
the fifth moon ² under,	for time as endless as
when blithe-voiced cuckoo	the coils of kuzu ⁴ ,
cometh,	would fare to meet my
fair sweet flag flow'rs	lord—
and orange blooms would	but now, alas,
gather,	no more the morrow
and weave in garlands	know'th him,
wherewith to deck the	where may my eyes
head—	behold him!

¹ Some commentators attribute this lay to Hitómara. In some editions the envoys follow. Yamákuma was a son of Prince Osakabe, one of the sons of the Mikado Temmu. Of Ihata nothing is known; see XLV.

² *Sa-tsuki*. Various explanations, none satisfactory, are given of this name. The 'Kotoba no Izumi' suggests *sa-nahe*, quick growth.

³ *nagatsuki*, not 'long month', but perhaps 'long or late moon', 'hunter's moon month'. Another derivation is from *nigi*, 'fruiting' month.

⁴ A trailing leguminous plant, *Pueraria Thunbergiana*.

47

By Akahito on passing by the Tomb of the Maid of
Mama in Kátsushika ¹.

In Mama village	yet long as pine tree
in the land of Kátsushika	lasteth
of old time dwelt	her piteous story
a maid of wondrous	the tale of all her sorrow
beauty,	shall in my heart endure!
and well wooed was she,	—————
exchanged were Shidzu ²	Still heaves the sea-
girdles	wrack
and bride-hut builded ³ ,	in Mama's clear waters
so well wooed was the	by Kátsushika—
maiden—	how oft the drifting sea
her tomb they told me	spoil
lay here by thick pleached	hath Mama's fair maid
leafery	gather'd! ⁴
of maki hidden	

¹ Known in Eastland as Kátsushika no Mama no teko (The Beauty of Mama). She was of low degree, but wooed by many, and embarrassed by the difficulty of choice finally threw herself into the sea; probably because she could not become the wife of the one she preferred.

Compare the lays on the Maid of Unahi (122, 125), and the one on Sakura no ko (203).

² *Shitsu* = *shidzu*, a sort of cloth (hempen?); also a variety in which a weft of dyed yarn was woven in to form a sort of mixed pattern. It was used for girdles. In old Japan lovers exchanged their girdles in sign of mutual affection, or knotted them in token of fidelity.

³ In the text, *fuse-ya*, a small cottage, or hut, or penthouse. In old days a small hut was built by the bridegroom's house in which the pair passed the first night. The custom is often alluded to in the Annals. In a village in Tosa known to the author of the Kogi (a Tosa man), the same custom still obtained in his day (first half of nineteenth century).

⁴ A similarity is implied between the movement of the floating weeds and the grace of the maid who gathered them.

48

An Elegy by the Hangwan Ohotomo no Sukune Minaka on the Death by self-strangling of the Secretary of Fief-allotments in the land of Tsu, Hasetsukabe no Tatsumaro, in the first year of Tempyô (729).

'True liegeman ever
of those who guard the
frontier
from marge to marge
of o'er canopying heaven,
or watch without,
or serve within the Palace
am I,' exclaimed he,
to father, mother,
to wife and children say-
ing ¹,
how faithfully
for generations endless
as coil of kadzura ²
good service to their
Sovran
his foregoers gave,
and he would prove him
worthy
of their great name—

so from the day of parting
his lady mother
who tenderly had nursed
him,
full jars of saké
before the gods present-
ing,
in one hand bearing
god-gifts of yufu cloth,
in one uplifted
fine-fabric offerings due
to earth and sky
gods,
and prayed them to pro-
tect him
from every evil—
what year, what month,
what day, the housefolk
wonder,
will they behold him,

the flower-blooming house
 lord,
 like absent mate
 to niho duck returning ³,
 his lonely wife
 with his caresses gladden,
 standing, sitting ⁴,
 his housefolk thus await
 him—

In dread obeisance
 to his Sovran's high com-
 mand
 years long he bided
 in the land of wave-worn
 Naniha,
 undry the sleeves
 of his bright vestments
 ever,

morn and even
 thus bided he in sorrow ⁵
 when—no man knoweth
 what thought arose within
 him—
 the mortal misery
 of this mean world imper-
 manent
 as dew and rime are ⁶
 to flee for ever left he
 untimely sped self-fated!

But yesterday
 perchance he still drew
 breath,
 and now, alas,
 above the pines shore
 fringing
 his funeral fumes are drift-
 ing!

¹ They would all be under the same roof. See Glossary.

² To take provincial service.

³ Allusion to the common Chinese illustration of mandarin ducks as examples of wedded fidelity. See the first ode of the Shikking.

⁴ A phrase signifying 'continually.'

⁵ Regretting his home in City-Royal.

⁶ The m. k., of which the value is here given, is in the text an epithet of *okite*, 'abandoning.'

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Washing Garments in the Saho River. A crayfish has caught hold of the vestment to the delight of the children—the servant in the background is more stolidly interested. A village is suggested in the distance, the middle plan being occupied by ‘arbitrary clouds’. A willow tree, perhaps representative of the Wistaria, overhangs the stream. The verse is taken from the poems of Kyôgoku Saban (?).

<i>Mina kami ni</i>	This prayer I offer
<i>tanomi ha kakeki</i>	to the founts of Saho's river,
<i>Saho-gaha no</i>	to all the gods—
<i>suwe no fujiinami</i>	the dropping clusters
<i>namida kudasuna.</i>	of fuji flowers o'erhanging
	may they no tear-drops presage!

The point lies in the homophony of the *nam*i of *fujiinami* (*fuji*—Wistaria—clusters) and *nam*i of *namida* (tears). So, too, *mina kami*, homophonously, means ‘all the gods’.

Of the above stanza, as of the others which illustrate these plates, it is not always easy to get at the real meaning, and the translations are more or less tentative.

49

An Elegy by the Lady Ohotomo no Sakanohe on the
Death of the Korean Nun Rigwan¹ in 7
Temyô (735).

From bright² Shiraki
to our distant land she
journey'd,
whereof the fame
from men's lips had she
heard,
tho' kindred none,
tho' parents none, nor
brethren
for sweet devising
abode in our Dawnland—
nor City-Royal
where many a mansion
standeth
in sunlight floodèd³,
chose she for her abode,
but other-minded
beyond the stream of Saho
sought solitude
amid the mountain ways
like child that weepeth
and sure refuge findeth
anigh its mother ;
so came the Nun among
us
and builded her
a modest house to dwell in
and there while length-
en'd

the thread of years abode
she,
but none the dest'ny
of mortals may avoid—

while those who loved
her⁴
on distant ways are faring
—grass-pillow ways—
o'er Saho's stream is borne
tow'rds the wild-wood
hills
beyond the moor of Ka-
suka,
in darkest darkness
to rest, the outland nun—
nor help is any,
nor words of solace any,
alone and des'late
I wander hither, thither,
my tears ever
my fair white sleeves be-
drenching,
and as I weep
within myself I muse
perchance my tears may
as cloud so'er Arima gather
and fall in gentle rain
there !

¹ The nun Rigwan came from Shinra (Silla, a kingdom of Korea), and lived for many years in (or near) the house of the Dainagon, the Commander-in-Chief, Ohotomo no Kyô (Yasumaro no Kyô?). In 7 Tempyô (735) she fell suddenly ill, and died. The wife of the Dainagon had gone to the baths of Arima—her name was Ishikaha no myôbu (a fifth rank dignity)—and the death took place during her absence. The daughter, Sakanohe no Iratsume (see Lay 42, to be distinguished from her daughter Sakanohe no Oho-iratsume), alone accompanied the funeral, and sent the elegy to her mother at Arima.

² The m. k. is '(white as) mulberry bark cord'.

³ This is a literal rendering of the m. k.

⁴ i. e. her friends, save Sakanohe herself, who at the time of her death had gone to Arima.

50

An Elegy by Ohotomo no Sukune Yakamochi on the death of his *me* ¹.

Now in the forecourt
thy flower² well it bloom-
eth,

yet bringeth to me,
no ease of heart it bringeth,
were we together,
like water-fowl a-pairing,

I'd pluck a flower
and show it to thee dear,
but mortal wast thou,
thy days on earth, were
fleeting,

impermanent
as rime or dew of morning,
and now thou liest

amid the wild-wood hills,
like setting sun
beyond the ken of earth,
O what my sorrow,

what grief my soul doth
burden,

I cannot speak,
thy name I cannot utter,
this world without thee
is but a traceless misery
to bear my woe I know not!

How long so'er—
life's end impendeth ever,
her sad fate mourning,
from me my love is taken
and but a baby left me.

Would I had known
what way of fate were
thine,
would I had known it

I would have held thee hath bloomed and passed
 safe, love ! away,
 and barred that way ³ for agonè its season—
 thee. and flow afresh my tears
 ————— my sleeves are undry
 The flower thou knewest ever.⁴

¹ *Me*, lit. 'woman', here means 'wife'; not used in a humilic sense, but as a term of intimacy.

This lay seems to be the first *chōka* by Yakamochi.

² A *nadeshiko*, or pink (*Dianthus*), planted by the wife.

³ The way of death.

⁴ Several short elegies precede the above, of which one may be given as explanatory of the longer lay—

As autumn showeth,
 the pretty pink thou plantedst
 to make my home
 more bright with memory of thee—
 what profiteth its flower!

The date of these lays is 740.

51

An Elegy by Yakamochi on the Death of Prince
 Asaka.¹

With awe and reverence as swaying spring forth
 of things so high to cometh
 chant ²— all where the hill-sides
 are rich with crowded
 from Kuni's Palace, blossom,
 from Kuni, City-Royal and the clear rivers
 my noble Prince, are live with darting
 would that a myriad ages troutlets ³,
 o'er great Yamato as each day groweth
 high rule thou mightest with vernal beauty
 have borne, gayer,

from Kuni, where there come the tidings,

these tidings, sad to hear,	of my Lord's new rule in
that—O to tell them—	Heaven,
the servants of the Palace	on the woods of Wad-
fair white robes donning	zuka,
to the wooded heights of	as day by day passed by,
Wadzuka	I turned but eye in-
have borne thy bier—	different. ⁴

and thou in all-shine	The wooded hill-sides,
Heaven	where close the hi trees
high sway still bearest	cluster,
but low with grief I grovel,	are gay with blossom—
my sleeves with tears be-	as wilt the flow'rs and
drench'd!	perish
	my lord from the world
	hath faded!

While yet I dreamed not

¹ The lay is the second of six, four of which are short lays indited in memory of Asaka a son of the Mikado Shōmu (724–48), who died at the age of seventeen. Shōmu established his City-Royal at Kuni, in Yamashiro, but only, according to Satow, from 724 to 728. The Prince died in the *kisaragi* month of 745. *Kisaragi* is an old name for the second month. The etymology given is *ki* (put on), *sara* (again), *gi* (raiment?), i. e. the month of doubled clothing to ward off the cold.

Asaka was apparently regarded as heir, and would preserve his earthly rank in heaven, whence his ancestors came, and where they now were gathered. Like the Jews, the ancient Japanese thought there was a counterpart in heaven of the world they knew—a heavenly Nippon, just as there was a heavenly Jerusalem.

² This is a rendering of the introductory quatrain, with which many of the lays open. More literally—‘with a great fear to utter, with awe to speak, belike!’

³ ‘Where stooping you may see
the little minnows darting aimlessly.’

⁴ Now the hill is endeared to the poet as the burial place of his Lord.

52

A Second Elegy by Yakamochi on the Death of Prince Asaka.

<p>With awe and reverence of theme so high to sing— ofttimes would summon, my Lord the palace ser- vants ¹ to the chase of deer amid the hills of morning, mid the hills of even to rouse the wary wild- fowl his goodly courser with staying hand re- straining on hill and river to gaze and heart to glad- den— on high Ikuji where hang the wild woods shaggy the sprays were blossom- ing, but now of all their glory the hills are empty, for such the fleeting way is of this our world—</p>	<p>with stout glaive girded, with hero-heart high beating, with bow of whitewood and arrowful quiver slung across their shoulders, as long as heaven, as long as earth should last, for a myriad ages thy servants on thee leaned them and trusted ever so might the state en- dure— who thronged thy spacious palace like flies in summer, like flies on summer ways, but now, white-robed, their whilom smilings vanished, their busy joyance gone, as the days ago- ne are, their piteous plight la- ment.²</p>
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¹ Lit. weapon-wights, warriors; equivalent nearly to *toneri*, retainers, palace attendants of gentle birth, who in ancient Japan were always of the warrior class.

² The sense of the various m. k. is included in the translation.

53

An Elegy by Takahashi no Asomi¹ on the Death of his wife.

Our fair white sleeves,
on love's embrace enlacing
till jetty tresses
to snowy lock's should
turn them,
year after year
to dwell together ever,
unparted ever
the thread of our twain
lives,
was what we vow'd each,
we vow'd each to the
other,
thou and I, dear,
but unfulfill'd the bond is,
our hearts' desire
all unachieved remain-
eth—

for destiny
our shining sleeves hath
parted,
and thee, my spouse,
from pleasant home hath
taken,
behind thee leaving,
a baby's tears leaving—

like morning mist
now vanishest thou from
me,

towards Sagaraka,
o'er-towering Yamashiro,
as thou art borne,
nor words I find me,
nor ways to ease my
sorrow—

before the chamber,
where close we slept
together,
in morning hour
about thy garden pacing²,
in evening hour
within the chamber pacing,
I grieve for thee, dear,
and as a man may, strive I
thy wailing infant
to fondle and to solace—

as plain the wild-fowl,
who cry in morning hour,
for thee I weep,
but nought my tears avail
me,
and where thou liest,
though speech none win
I of thee,
I will betake me,
I will the steep hill climb-
ing
upon thy love still lean me.³

¹ Of whom little is known. We hear of two members of the clan or family in the year-period Tempyô (729-49). The date of the lay is the 20th of the 7th month (August 22) 745.

² The garden (*niha*) around the *sa-neshi tsuma-ya*, the spouse house or pavilion where they slept together. Immediately after this use of the character for *niha* it is employed to signify the particles *ni ha*.

³ I conjecture this to be the meaning of the last couplet of the lay; literally—‘the mountain where she lies buried I yearn for as a place of refuge or help’.

BOOK IV, PART I

54

A Lay by the Wokamoto Mikado.¹

From times remotest	yet all the day thro’
though men in genera-	till day is lost in darkness,
tions	and all the night thro’
in countless crowds have	till day the darkness
full fill’d the wide world-	chaseth,
spaces	I know but sorrow,
in noisy multitudes ²	forthou my lord art absent,
like morning flights of	I cannot sleep, too slowly
wild-fowl—	the tardy hours are pass-
	ing ³ .

¹ The use of *kimi* in the text points to a Queen-Regnant as the authoress. If so, she must have been Kôgyoku who, after abdicating in 645, was restored (with the after-name of Saimei) in 655. The beloved is absent, fickle, too, in all probability: the multitudes of other men give no comfort; it is for him she grieves.

² The epithet ‘noisy’ is borrowed from the next line.

³ The following *tanka* are worth giving:—

‘Along the borders of the hills the flight of *aji* (Anas formosa) fill tumultuously the air [so men fill the world]; but I am lonely, alas! for my lord is not with me.’

‘Mid the ways of Ômi ever floweth Isaya’s stream from

Toko's flank ; but will the love of former days still endure ?
Toko is everlasting, *Isa*[*ya*] = *isa*, an exclamation of doubt,
ke (in the text) = *kihe*, vanish. The whole sense is, ' Will love
 last or disappear with the lapse of time as the river mists do
 with the advance of day ? '

55

A Lay by Tajihî no Mabito on going down to the
 Westland.¹

By Mitsu's ² sea-strand	to take a last look turning
—like polish'd mirror	I send my eyes,
shining,	and see green Katsuraki ³
court ladies treasure	whose canopy
in dainty toilet-casket—	of white clouds hideth it,
my under-girdle	and westwards faring
in ruddy grain deep-tinted	behind me leave Awaji
in faith still knotted,	the homeland fronting,
I long for thee, my dear,	and further Aha's island
the livelong night thro',	mid the distant waters
till dawn the darkness	I pass, and listening hear
breaketh,	the cries of sailors
and all the welkin	across the calm of morn-
with scream of cranes is	ing,
ringing	in the calm of evening
thro' the mists of morn-	the sound of oars I hearken,
ing—	so o'er the sea waves
some whit, how scanty	a lengthening track pursu-
ever,	ing
a thousand thousandth,	the rock-isles thread I,
of the woe my heart	pass Inabitsuma's bay,
oppresseth	like sea-fowl tossing
to ease, towards home	upon the heaving billows,

till that I beach	Our sleeves exchanging
on Ihe's distant shingle,	our shining sleeves we
where floating seaweed,	change ⁵ ,
which men call 'wordless-	and till I see thee
wort' ⁴ ,	the months and days shall
remindeth me I left thee	• count me
nor said what I would	must pass ere I shall see
say thee	thee, .

¹ Of Tajihi nothing is known. On the point of embarking for Tsukushi on duty or in the train of the mikado, he remembers that he has not said the farewell to his wife he might have said, which will be found in the envoy. The lay is a good example of the travel-lay in which the places passed are mentioned, and appropriate similes or quibbles extracted from them.

² In Settsu, in the county of Nishinari, west of the present Kozu, and near the ancient Naniha. A double m. k. is applied to *mi* (a vocable of many meanings), part of Mitsu in the three lines preceding the name, which may be literally rendered '*mi*, which is like the mirror that ladies of the court keep in their comb-box.'

³ A hill in Yamato. The *ki* is written sometimes with the character *ki* (tree), sometimes with that representing castle, fort, earthwork. Kadzura may be a contraction of *kazari-tsura*, 'face- (or head-) deck,' referring to the garlands or chaplets with which the ancient Japanese, of both sexes, were fond of adorning themselves, as the Polynesians are to this day. From this origin the word came to have various botanical meanings, *Olea*, *Cercidiphyllum*, &c., also a wig or false hair, the *man* in the moon (*Katsura-wo*), and so forth.

⁴ This lay is a sort of *Kaidô-kudari*, or road-song. A curious word-play in the text is worth explaining. The 'wordless-wort' is *nanoriso*, a species of *Sargassum* (S. Horneri). The true origin of the name is, of course, *nami-noru-so*, wave-float-weed, a most apt designation. But *na nori so* also means 'do not say', hence the quibble. [In N. I. 322 we read—'In 242

the mikado made a progress to the Palace of Chinu . . . Soto-hori Irátsume (the Lady S.) made a song—"For ever and ever | Oh! that I might meet my Lord, | as often as drift beachward | the weeds of the shore of ocean | (where whales are caught)." Then the mikado said, "No other person must hear this song. For if the Empress heard it she would surely be greatly wrath." Therefore the men of that time named the shore-weed *na-nori-ahi-mo*.¹ Dr. Aston thinks the point of the story not quite clear. But *na-nori-ahi-mo* may mean 'do not each call the other by name at all', i. e. let there be no such intimacy as the song alludes to. According to Prof. Matsu-mura's *Shokubutsu Meii* ('Enumeration of the names of Plants'), 1904, *nanori-so* is *Sargassum Horneri*. It still forms part of the festal decorations of the new year. The mikado's prohibition was in fact a tabu. See Mr. Minakata's paper 'The Tabu System in Ancient Japan', read at the Bristol Meeting of the British Association in 1898.]

¹ An exchange of sleeves, according to Motowori, was a token of affection between lovers who had to part for a time. Each wearing some article or part of the other's dress was constantly reminded of the absent one.

56

A Love Lay by Aki no Ohokimi ¹.

Far from thee, dear,	I would the morrow
bylengtheningspear-ways	sweet speech seek with
wending,	thee, dear,
I know the sorrow	that each for other
the woe of absence know I,	might still unanxious be,
would I a cloud were	as erstwhile were we
in the empyrean floating	I would we were together
would I a bird were	asin the days now perish'd.
under heaven soaring,	

¹ Nothing is known of him beyond the fact that he was the son of Asuka no Miko, grandson of Shiki no Miko, and flourished

in the period Tempyô (729-749). He is on some official mission, and longs for home and wife whom he has left behind at City-Royal. There is one envoy, lamenting that a whole year has passed since he pillowed his head on his wife's arm.

'O wind that o'er my head art flying,
I should not feel the pain of dying
Could I with thee a message send.'

57

By Kanámura, at the prayer of a damsel to whose lover, a squire in the Royal train, he is asked to give it.¹

Among the squires
attendant on our Sovran
now Ki-wards faring
in royal state and splendour,
my sweet lord goeth,
by Karu's path far-wending,
where high the fowl fly²,
o'er steep Unebi,
—of suppliant arms that
mindeth³—
anon the road-track
to Kii leadeth treads he
and mid the falling
flying leaves of autumn
his love may haply
yield to their ruddy
beauty⁴,

and grassy pillow⁵
of toilsome travel better
than my arms please him—

I am not sure,
me many a doubt assail-
eth,⁶
and fain to follow
my dear lord I were,
and times a thousand
my heart to follow longeth,
but feeble woman
what may I dare to venture,
to road-guards curious
what speech of mine were
answer,
what trembling gest and
stammer!⁷

¹ Of Kanámura (Kasa no Ason) nothing is known. Keichiu classes him with Takahashi no Mushimaro, Yamanohe no Okura, Tanobe no Sakimaro, and other poets of the Manyôshiu, whom he ranks with but after Hitômaro and Akáhito. The date assigned to the lay is 1 Jinki (724).

² Karu, a place-name, is also the name of a bird, a kind of mallard. The verse gives the value of the m. k. *amatobu ya* and *tamatasuki*.

³ Thus I render the suggestions contained in the m. k. See ante Lay 27 and also List of m. k.

⁴ He will be distracted by the beauty of the autumnal tints.

⁵ The suggestion of the m. k. *kusa makura* is here given.

⁶ I am not sure of the rendering of the text which seems obscure here. The commentators (but not the Kogi) think some lines have been lost.

⁷ There is here an untranslatable fancy. The text is *tsumadzuku*, which means stumbling (as of a horse), or, spousal embrace. The suggestion of course is double—her desire to meet her ‘comely lord’, and the uncertainty and danger of endeavouring to do so.

There are two envoys which echo the thought of the lay, the first of them turning on a word-play on the name Mt. Imose, which the lover must cross, and which should remind him of their union—*imo se* = wife and husband.

58

A Love-Lay by Kanamura.¹

On Mika's moor	I leave it whether
a wayfarer I lodged me,	our sleeves shall inter-
and on the spear-way	twine
by hap I met a maiden,	and she my love be,
but careless glance I	and if this night that
as though at passing cloud	laggeth
cast,	shall find her mine,
nor one word speaking	oh, grant, ye gods, it outlast
one word to yonder	a thousand nights of
maiden,	autumn.
when suddenly	
my heart seemed stilled	I saw her passing
within me—	as one a heaven-cloud sees ² ,
and to the high gods,	yet such her beauty
the gods of earth and	body and soul clave to her,
heaven,	clave to that fair creature.

¹ The date is 2 Jinki (725), the love-struck squire was in attendance upon the mikado, who was passing to his country palace on the moor of Mika in Yamashiro.

² Lit. 'looking heaven-cloud-elsewhere,' i. e. gazing carelessly as one passes along the road.

59

A Lay of Complaint by the Lady Sakanohe ¹.

With constancy
firm stablish'd as the
sedges
that grow deep-rooted
in the pools of wave-worn
Naniha,
he spoke and promis'd
through all the years to
love me—

and I my heart gave
unflecked as polished
mirror,
and leaned upon him,
and all my faith put in him
as in tall ship
his trust the sailor putteth,
nor from that day forth
as drifting sea-fronds wave
once wavered I—

yet—is't the gods al-
mighty
us twain have parted !

or slanderous word of
mortals,
that who so often
came, cometh now no more,
nor sceptred messenger
e'en sendeth to me ever—

ah ! sad my lot is,
where help to seek I know
not,

thro' the drear darkness
as black as pardanth berry,
and all the day thro'
until the shades of night
fall,

I weep unholpen,
unhoping still and hope-
less—

a hapless woman
'tis plain I be to all folk,
and like a child

I weep the while I wander
nor dare a word wait
from him

¹ See Lay 42.

BOOK IV, PART II

60

A Complaint by the Lady Sakanohe, from her country house at Tomi, to her eldest daughter the Great Lady Sakanohe, left at the family mansion in City-Royal.

<p>Away from thee, child, though not in the world of darkness¹ since thou our door left I nothing know but sorrow, my child, my darling, black night² or shining day divide I cannot, for I am lean with misery, I weep and weep, my sleeves are undry ever, my child, my lady,</p>	<p>for vain my love for thee is, of thee, dear, empty how drear is the home- place these many months and weary! <hr/>My thoughts are tan- gled, as tangled as my hair on morning pillow, forso I love thee, daughter, I see thee in my dreams³.</p>
---	--

¹ Even if not dead at loss of thee, I am full of sorrow.

² The m. k. is 'black as pardanth berry', see *ante* Lay 23.

³ I adopt Motowori's explanation.

BOOK V, PART I

60A

The Fifth Book opens with a Chinese *zho*, or preface, to a short lay by the Dazaisui Ohotomo no Kyô, which is an answer to official expressions of condolence on the death of his wife. Ohotomo no Kyô is the Tabihito or Tabiudo no Kyô mentioned in the Third Book. According to Keichiu, it was upon tidings of the death of Ohotomo's wife, Ohotomo no Iratsume, reaching City-Royal that two representatives of the *kimî* (princes) and *kyô* (ministers) were sent

down to assist at the mourning. In the Third Book will be found three short lays on 'one who has passed away' (his wife), dated 5 Jinki (728).

In the same book are five short lays composed on Ohotomo's way up to City-Royal upon his advancement to the office of Dainagon in 2 Tempyô (730), and three others composed on his return, all expressing his grief for the loss of his wife.

In the Eighth Book also there is a short lay by one of the representatives above mentioned—Nori no Tsukasa (President of the Board of Rites), Isonokami Asomi—in which the death is alluded to, and an answer to it by Ohotomo.

The death, therefore, of Ohotomo no Iratsume, would seem to have deeply impressed both her husband and the Court.

The *zho* laments the miseries and vicissitudes of this life, the frequency of the need of consolatory inquiries, the writer's deep sorrow at his loss, and the comfort he has derived from the visit of condolence, ending with regret at the insufficiency of the brush to write words, and of words to express the feelings he entertains—an insufficiency the ancients had to regret as much as the moderns [he is anxious to justify himself by adducing the practice of the ancients].

The short lay is subjoined—

Well we know
how empty are our days,
each day new sorrow,
and every day new sorrows
in endless sequence brings us!

Following this come the headings.

23rd of 6th month of 5 Jinki (Aug. 2, 728).

A Chinese elegy on the death of his wife, with a Chinese preface, by Chikuzen no Kami Yamanahe no Omi Okura.

The *zho* to the Chinese poem is an interesting example of early Buddhist feeling in Japan.

'If we consider the Four Births (*tchatur yoni*—from the womb, from an egg, from moisture as gnats, fishes, slugs, &c.,

and by transformation, as in silkworms, &c.), that is, all existence, we see that life is but a vanity and a dream.'

'The Three Existences (*trāḷōkyā*—*kāma*, of desire; *rūpa*, of form; *arūpa*, of formlessness) fluctuate in an unresting circle. Therefore even the great sage Yuima (Vimalakīrti, a contemporary of Sakya *Muni), in his one -jō (ten feet) square cell ¹ could not escape sickness. So the Buddha himself, sitting in benevolent contemplation under the twain trees of meditation (the Sāla grove in Kusinagara where Sakya entered into *nirvana*), had to endure pains in the achievement of supreme absorption. These holy saints could not oppose Death when, in his resistless strength, he came to bear off their lives. For who in all the 3000 universes can hope to avoid the search of the goddess of Black Darkness. The twain rats (sun and moon, or day and night) are rivals in rapid lapse, like the flight of a swift bird time flies before our eyes, the four snakes (i. e. the four elements, earth, fire, air, and water) carry on a constant and insidious warfare [hence their personification as snakes] against our bodies, which perish daily, rapidly, as a swift horse seen galloping past a chink. Alas! ruddy-faced maids must go with their three obediences (to parents, to husband, to eldest son), lost for ever are the fair faces with their four virtues (language, behaviour, appearance, works). Can we hope to live in married union till both spouses are old? we must fly alone ere life is half over, in her fragrant chamber the tapestry waves in the wind [the room is untenanted, the wife being dead], his (the husband's) heart is wrung with grief, by the pillow hangs the mirror all unused, his tears are so greatly tinged [with blood?] as to dye bamboo. Once the gate of the nether world shut upon them, the dead are invisible—alas, alas, what grief, what grief is this!'

The Chinese poem is in heptasyllabics, a common measure of the Thang period.

The waves of the Stream of Love ² have disappeared,
 The woes of the ocean of Sorrow can no more beset me,
 Wherefore satiated I renounce this world of filth,
 My deepest wish is for a new life in that Pure Land ³.

¹ So we have the *Hōjōki* ('Notes from a *jō*-square Hut') the well-known classic of Chōmei (see 'A Japanese Thoreau of the Twelfth Century', *Journal of the R. A. S.*, April, 1905).

² The agitations of emotion.

³ Paradise. The Chinese texts in the Manyōshū are more or less corrupt, and, as restored, are not always intelligible, hence my translation is often, in some degree, conjectural. •

61

A Japanese Elegy [by Omi Okura, the composer of the Chinese Poem 60A].

To far-off Tsukushi,	where all unholpen am I,
where glowed of yore	from stocks and stones
strange fires ¹ ,	what solace can I gather ³
me did she follow,	in our own homeplace
in love upon me leaning	if but thy form were left
as child its mother ² ,	me!—
in tenderhaste that spared	but thou art cruel,
her	my wife, my lady wife,
no toil of travel, .	how hast thou used me,
but short the time, alas,	did we not vow for ever,
was,	like mated wild-fowl ⁴ ,
when unawares	to live our life unparted?—
down-stricken dead she	broken the vow is,
lay there!—	for far apart alas! now
what words may help me,	thy lonely home and ours
	lie!

¹ The m. k. in the text is *shiranuhi*—*shiranu hi*, unknown fires. In the *Kotoba no Izumi* the following explanation is given. In the time of the Mikado Keikō (71–130) the monarch being off the coast of Tsukushi in a boat, upon a dark night, was in great peril, when opportunely sea-glows were perceived which indicated the coasts of Hizen and Higo. In connexion with the Maldive myth of the shining boat that brought annually a demon to Male who had to be

propitiated by a young girl, Dr. Frazer, in his admirable *Early History of the Kingship*, quotes Mr. Gardiner, of Caius College, who writes to him 'a peculiar phosphorescence, like the glow of a lamp hidden by a roughened glass shade, is occasionally visible on lagoon shoals in the Maldives. I imagine it to have been due to some single animal with a greater phosphorescence than any at present known to us.

² The m. k. is 'like weeping child', i. e. a quite young child.

³ He is in the wilds of Tsukushi, on official duty. The gods had in early days deprived stones and trees of the power of speech.

⁴ *Niho-tori*, a sort of grebe, *Podiceps minor*.

The death having taken place on the wild frontier, far from City-Royal, amid hills and forests, the survivor finds no human solace, and his sorrow is increased by the remoteness of her tomb from their home in or near the capital. There are five envoys echoing the various sentiments expressed in the lay. The last I subjoin on account of its curious extravagance.

Ohonu yama
kiri tachi-wataru
waga nageku
okiso no kaze ni
kiri tachi-wataru.

o'er Ohonu's hill
the mists that drift and hover
are of sighs born
sharp-drawn from me by sor-
row,
the mists that hang on Ohonu!

okiso seems to mean, shrill, sharp breathing. There is also a hill of that name; see Lay 141, and perhaps a word-play is intended.

62

A Lay composed by Chikuzen no Kami Yamanohe no Ôkura on the 21st day of the 7th month of the 5th year of the period Jinki (A.D. 729) to bring back the froward to the right way.

The following preface in Chinese precedes the lay—its thought is classical, not Buddhist:—

The man who does not honour his parents is he who does not supply them with proper food.

He who provides not for his wife and children treats his duty lightly, and is regarded as a vulgar savage.

Though a man's aspirations rise above the grey clouds his body remains attached to this vulgar world of dirt and dust. He [who neglects the above duties] is ignorant of the wisdom of righteous conduct and of keeping to the true doctrine, and is of the folk who run away to hide among the hills and swamps (riff-raff).

Therefore it is that inculcating the three bonds (Prince and Vassal, Father and Child, Husband and Wife) and displaying the Five Duties or Relationships (the three bonds and those between brothers and friends), in the following lay an endeavour is made to bring back the froward into the right way.¹

Father and mother	thou art enlimed, my
thou shalt not fail to treat	friend,
with honour ever,	[nor knowest thou
to love and care for always	whither thy life's stream
thy wife and children,	bear'th thee,] ²
nor fail thou to remember	if human duties
the younger's duty	thou scorn'st as ragged
to the elder brother,	foot-gear
nor how behoveth	shalt thou thyself call
youth to yield to age,	not man but stock or
nor how to friend	stone-born—
in interchange of amity	heavenwards mounting
should friend be faith-	thou might'st thine own
ful—	will follow,
	but earth thou dwell'st
for such the world-way is	on
and midst the world's	where ay the Sovran
ways	ruleth,

andsunandmoon'neath,	of thine, my friend, shall
as far and wide as hover	rule not
the clouds of heaven,	thy conduct here below !
down to the tractso scanty	—————
the toad's realm is ³ ,	Remote the ways ⁴
wherever sun or moon	of shining heaven are
shines	turn thou then, turn
allwhere the' land	thee
our Sovran's sway obey-	to thine own earthly home,
eth—	and do thy duty there !

so wayward will

¹ The text seems, in part, corrupt, or at least it has been manipulated. The version is almost literal, despite its modern air. The classical wisdom of China is, in fact, modern in tone and spirit, even in language. It is an enlightened, in some respects extended, Machiavelism on paper, very inadequately carried out in practice.

² These lines—they signify the course of events—are said to be an interpolation.

³ That is, the whole land down to the petty territory of toads, *taniguku* = *hikikaheru* (*Bufo vulgaris*), is under the Sovran's rule.

⁴ The envoy teaches the need of attending to the duties of this life, irrespective of any life to come.

63

On the Love of children.¹

On melon feasting ²	what count I silver,
my children I remember,	what count I gold or
or munching chestnuts	jewels,
yet more I love my	what count I these ?
children,	my children are my
whence come they to me ?	treasure, ⁴
as daily I behold them	all other treasure passing !
more anxious ever am I ! ³	

¹ Said to be by Omi Okura. The lay is preceded by sentences in Chinese, cited, apparently, from the Sūtra of the most excellent Dharani of Buddha's Head (see Nanjio's Tripitāka, No. 352):

'Shaka, who cometh to men as came the countless Buddhas before him, spoke with his golden mouth these words of righteousness:—

"I care for all men as I care for my own son Rahula."

And again:—

"There is not any love that surpasseth one's love for one's own children."

The wisest and most virtuous of men, then, loved his child. Much more shall not the common weeds of earth (mankind) love their children' (that is, to do so will be no derogation in view of the Buddha's own example).

² Melon seeds probably meant: the idea is Chinese.

³ More lit., 'their image fills our eyes, never are we at ease about them.'

⁴ The envoy may be read generally, in the first person plural.

64

An Elegy on the miserable impermanence of Human Life, preceded by a short Chinese preface.¹

Acquirement [of the apparent good things of this life] is easy, but choice [true selection of the really good] is difficult.

We cannot help coming into contact with the eight adversities but we never get to the end of them. (They are Birth, Old age, Disease, Death, Parting of those who love each other, to be subject or object of Hatred, to strive and not succeed, subjection to Skhonda [Life, or the five shadows or forms of existence, i. e. Form, Perception, Consciousness, Action, Knowledge]). What the ancients grieved over was the loss of a hundred years' (i. e. enduring or real) happiness, now to attain this is the help of the present

lay offered to chase away the miseries of both hairs [black and white hairs, in other words the miseries of youth and old age].

¹ These prefaces, no doubt, were elegant courtesies of the period, the first third of the eighth century. They show that by that time the court poets were well acquainted with the language and literature of China.

In this our world
the ills of life succeed,
as years and months
slide,
in sequence ever endless;
life's accidents
uninterrupted follow
and all life's evils
must men meet as they
may—

fair maidens ever
the wont of maidens
following
fine outland jewels
upon their long sleeves
broider
their shining sleeves
they
let flutter in the breezes,
and smocks all scarlet,
of deep-dyed scarlet, trail
they,
as hand in hand held
disport the like-aged
beviaes;
such time of blossom

they fain would stay but
may not,
for ne'er the days rest,
but surely bring time's
hoar-frost
to whiten tresses
erst black as pulp of sea-
shell,
while wrinkles in rosy
faces
come why or whence one
know'th not,—
and lustie youths too
the wont of bold youths
follow,
on stout thigh girding
the trusty blade of warrior,
strong bow of hunter
in eager hands they grasp,
and ride their coursers,
their chestnut coursers,
harness'd
with finest furn'ture—
so since the world was,
hath the world, belike,
been ever!—
or doors too noisy

are boldly pushed and	whatcomely wasishateful,
opened,	his days are number'd,
and fair arms searched	to piteous plight they
for	bring him
and fine fair armsenlacéd;	nor help for him is any! ¹
long last such joys not,	—————
ere many years are over,	Such ever must be
on staff supported	the life of the world
come tottering steps to	below—
stumble,	alas! that never
and as time passeth	of these our fleeting days
to sere age youth turneth,	the hours may be arrested!
for such man's life is,	

¹ In parts the version is slightly amplified to give the full sense.

65

A Lay made by Omi Okura on the Chinkwai Stones
in Tsúkushi.¹

With awe and reverence	to all her folk to witness,
of that Sovran Queen	for a myriad ages
Tarashi	her fame undimm'd pre-
I dare indite	serving—
who all the wide land	and nigh the waters
ruled	that brood in deep Fukaye,
and realms Korean	unfathom'd waters
had to her sway com-	by Kofu's brine-bound
pelled—	moor,
to her great heart	her own hands royal
repose to bring and peace	these twain Rocks have
she took and blessed	establish'd,
these twain Rocks, pre-	dread Queen divine,
cious treasures,	her very soul containing
for a memorial	shall they not be revered!

¹ Chinkwai may be translated 'comforting'. The preface to the lay says 'on Kofu moor near the village of Fukaye, in the County of Ito, province of Tsukushi, on a knoll near the shore, are two stones of egg-like shape and beautiful appearance, very jewels in fact. All who pass, officials or not, dismount and do them reverence. Old men declare that when Okinaga-tarashi (the Queen-Regnant Jingo) conquered Shiraki (Silla), she took these stones and put one in either sleeve to facilitate her confinement (of the Mikado Ôjin), and afterwards placed them in this spot. A very different account of her purpose is given which need not be mentioned here. Jingo reigned 201-69, and died at the age of 100. See also N. I. 229, where a somewhat different tradition is given.

BOOK V, PART II

66

An Elegy by the Provincial Governor, Ôkura, representing the feelings of Kumagori.¹

Towards City-Royal	to make my couch, too
the Sun-Child's sunny city	des'late,
beyond the care	and there I fling me
of her who nursed me	to lie in grief and tears—
faring,	Oh would I were
thro' tracts unknown	in my own land where still
and o'er uncounted hills	we,
wending, devising	son and father,
when might my eyes	in my own home where
behold	still we,
fair City-Royal,	son and mother,
the weary windings	might each the other
following	gladden ² —
of the long spear-way	but so it must be,
I pluck wild herbs for	for such the world-way is,
pillow,	and like a dog
and strew the bushes	that by the roadside dieth

must I lie down and perish! now must I leave you,
 ————— leave you
 In all the world a long farewell must bid
 again I ne'er shall see them, you.
 father, mother—

¹ The lay is the only long lay of six compositions by Yamanohe no Ōkura representing the feelings of Kumagori on his death-bed. I subjoin the story told in a sort of a preface written in Chinese.

Ohotomo Kumagori was a native of Hinomichi no shiri (Higo). In his 18th year (3 Tempyō, 731) he was accorded the *seimei* (surname) of Tomohito (Squire of the Guard). He therefore started to go up to City-Royal, but heaven visited him in the way, he fell ill and died at the relay-station of Agi or Aki (Geishiu); on his death-bed, sighing deeply, he exclaimed: 'I have heard the saying, "Easily perisheth the body which is the result of a chance rencounter (of the four elements, earth, water, fire, wind)". Existence is like foam, it endureth not, wherefore it is that the thousand sages have died, and the hundred worthies have not remained, much more as to the common folk, how could they escape destruction. But my old father and mother, they see the days pass as they wait for me in my cottage, I am full of grief as I think of them, their hopes will be disappointed, they will be blind with tears, alas! for my father's grief, alas! for my mother's woe, I grieve not at my own death, but over the sorrow of my parents who overlive me in misery, to-day 'tis a long farewell, how shall I learn whether they are hale or sick.'

² The meaning is that were he in his own land, or in his home place his parents would tend him in his illness.

67

A Dialogal Lay on the Misery of Poverty.¹

Amid the whirling	the night is chilly,
wind and driving snow,	and help for me is none—
amid the driving	salt sesamum cake ²
rain and falling snow,	I nibble, nibble, swallow

sour vilest sake
 of sorry dregs rough-
 brew'd,
 I cough and hawk
 and wheeze and snuffle
 sorely
 and stroke my beard,
 scarce feeling it my own
 as still I stroke it,
 and yet I vaunt me
 a man I still must be,
 or none a man is,
 so to myself I boast, yet—
 the cold's so bitter,
 well o'er my head I draw
 my coverlet hempen
 and all the bark-cloth
 cloaks
 I can, yet ever
 the night is bitter cold,
 ay! bitter cold!
 yet many a wretch there be
 than me more wretched,
 for his parents cold and
 hungry
 do starve and shiver,
 his wife and little children
 do, beg and weep,
 and how through weary life
 may such win ask I—
 how winn'st thou thro'
 this world, friend?—
 Though wide its bounds
 be,

the world of heaven and
 earth
 too hardly hems me,
 though sun and moon shine
 brightly,
 for me they shine not;
 is this the lot of all men,
 or mine alone such?
 a mere chance belike,
 each worldly life is³,
 and I, as must my fellows,
 must labour ever,
 my cloak unwadded hang-
 ing
 about my shoulders,
 in sorry tatters hanging
 like ragged sea-wrack,
 tumbling my shabby hovel,
 its floor bare earth
 with wisps of straw o'er-
 strewn,
 that there my parents
 may sleep beside my
 pillow,
 and wife and children
 for sleep seek at my feet,
 in huddled misery;
 no smoke from my hearth
 riseth,
 their webs have spiders
 about the cauldron spun
 that hath forgotten
 rice e'er was seeth'd
 therein—

and last there cometh for dues or service
hoarse-voiced as *nuye* in loud and angry tone—
bird,
my less to lessen such is my lot,
my cloth too short cut unholpen, helpless am I,
shorter,⁴ for such the world's ways
and rod in hand be !
the village headman call-
ing

¹ This very curious lay, the date of which must be anterior to the middle of the eighth century, is not an actual dialogue, but the poet puts first the case of the unmarried wretch, and next that of the still more miserable married one.

² Lit. 'hard salt', perhaps coarse salt fish is meant.

³ A Buddhist notion.

⁴ An almost literal rendering.

There are three envoys: in the first the poor man deplores the world's misery, and wishes he had the wings of a bird to flee from it; in the second he describes his joy at receiving the cast-off rags of the children of the rich; in the third he laments the lack of even the coarsest raiment wherewith to cover his nakedness.

68

A Lay of 'God-speed' and 'welcome home' respectfully offered by Omi Okura.¹

From the Gods' own broad heaven lie,
foretime so have our fathers told
hath run the ancient story us,
how great Yamato and in this age we'
land of skyey mountains before our own eyes see we
hath ay been fairest how true the tale is,
of lands the most divine and in our own hearts
in speech most em'nent know we
of all the lands that under how true the tale is—

now mid the multitudes
 our land who people,
 the Sovran, dread descen-
 dant
 of the sun that shin-
 eth
 on high in middle heaven,
 —a very god he,
 in plenitude of glory—
 hath gentle scions
 of noble houses ² chosen
 to serve his Majesty—
 and thou my lord amongst
 them
 a chosen servant
 to distant Morokoshi
 must cross the waters
 bearing our Sovran's
 greeting
 to that far outland,
 and may the gods whose
 kingdom
 the sea-deeps are,
 and eke the gods whosway
 hold
 o'er the shallow waters,
 yea all the gods with power
 girt o'er ocean,
 thy prow draw all un-
 scathed

across the sea-plain,
 the gods of earth and
 heaven
 and that great spirit
 of our own land of Yamato ³
 from high beholding
 with favouring eyes con-
 voy thee—
 and when, concluded
 thy mandate, thou re-
 turnest,
 once more the great gods
 lend thee their grace and
 favour,
 with hands divine
 thy ship draw straightway
 homeward
 on track unswerving
 as mark of builder's ink-
 line ⁴,
 past Chika's headland
 —where aji fowl build—
 to Mitsu's shining haven ⁵
 straightway, and so
 to homeland, well and
 prosper'd,
 return, and that right
 speedily!

¹ On the departure on an embassy to China of Taji no Mabito Hironari in 5 Tempyô, 733.

² Of families that have held high office.

³ No doubt the god Ohokunidama mentioned with Amaterasu no ohongami in N. I. 151. There are (or were) shrines

to this god in the district of Yamato in the county of Yamate in Yamato. As to the signification of this god the field is open to conjecture.

⁴ Straight as a carpenter's ink-cord or line.

⁵ The m. k. (not rendered) here is *ohotomo*, great warrior, epithetical of *Mitsu*, valiant, taken as *mitsu* of *mitsumitsushi*, heroic. See K. 142.

One of the envoys is worth giving:—‘As I hear of the arrival of this ship in the haven of Nāniha, I unloose my girdle and am like to hurry there in one jump’ (*tachi-bashiri*). The Kogi cites, in illustration, a passage from the Nihongi (N. I. 205): ‘Looking over the sea he (Yamatodake) spake with a loud voice, and said:—“This is but a little sea; one might even jump over it (*tachi-bashiri*).”’ The reputation of Omi Okura stands high with lovers of the ancient learning, though his name is not well known to the general reader. He was appointed an under-secretary to the embassy to China of 701. In 703 he went to China in an official capacity, returning in 704. About 716 he was nominated governor of the province of Hōki. Later, he was appointed guardian or tutor to the Crown Prince, and was afterwards governor of the province of Chikuzen. He died at the age of seventy-four in June 733, some two months after composing the lay. A considerable number of his lays, long and short, are collected in the Manyōshū.

69

A Lay on the increasing misery of growing old and
on parental love.¹

<p>Within the limits of this our little life would all were smooth, would all were fair and pleasant, nor evil threatened, nor loomed a time of mourning— but full the world is</p>	<p>of wretchedness and misery, as tho' one poured into a gnawing sore² sharp salt and bitter— our burdens grow more heavy, as packhorse groan we beneath a load redoubled,</p>
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<p>with years increasing amain our ills increase, from dawn to darkness we spend the hours lamenting, and all the night thro' we sigh and weep till day- break, • the 'long years thoro' as ill to ill succeedeth ³ and moon moon follow'th our woe more wild'ring groweth and we would die,</p>	<p>but when around us see we • our children playing like summer flies in frolic we cannot bear, we cannot bear to leave them and death we fear ⁴— such miseries we endure with hearts that perish, and various is our sorrow as pining, pining, we grow full faint with grief and know no truce of tears.</p>
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¹ By Omi Okura? The lay is preceded by some Chinese heptasyllabics.

The changing course of the common world is a matter of vision,

The regular march of human affairs is a matter of action,
 To ride upon floating clouds is to voyage in empty air,
 If mind and body be exhausted what is there left!

In other words, use your sense, and govern your action by the knowledge so gained; waste not your energies physical or mental in vague speculations which lead to futile action.

² Life itself is a misery to begin with.

³ Reading *yami shi*.

⁴ The text here is to me obscure. I base my rendering on the sense of one of the four envoys:—Our life is full of miseries, and the time comes when we would fain go anywhere to escape from them, but the thought of our children arrests us.

70

An Elegy on the Death of the Poet's son, Fúruhi.¹

Seven treasures ²	and ill I fear'd,
do men in this life covet,	and weal I dared to hope
but none I coveted,	for,
my son my only care was,	and on good luck lean'd
my Fúruhi	as sailor on tall ship
my boy, my fairest jewel,	leaneth—
my son born to us—	
as rose the star of morning	what time, unthought
in brightening glory,	of,
he would within our alcove,	somesudden breath of evil
now standing up,	was wafted us-ward,
now lying still, caress me,	and all unholpen were
and talk and frolic,	we ;
and when the star of	my whitest armbands
evening	around my shoulders
shone in the heavens,	throwing,
he would my hand take,	and brightest mirror
crying,	in suppliant hands uplift-
'Come, daddy, mammy,	ing,
'tis bedtime, do not leave	my eyes to heaven
me,	I rais'd in anxious prayer,
like midmost haulm	and prostrate flung me
of three-stalked mitsuba ³	'fore gods of earth and
I'd sleep between you'—	heaven,
	or good or evil . .
so would he prattle	to the high gods' grace
my pretty boy, my sonny,	committing,
the while I pondered	but vain my prayers
what might he as a man	were,
be,	and all unholpen were we,
	little by little

the boy each day grew hath fled from my em-
 weaker, braces,
 his body thinner, so sad the world's way is.

and morning after morn-
 ing

 'twas less he prattled,
 till that his little life-
 thread

 was shorn asunder.—

I reeled in misery,
 and stunn'd with sor-
 row

lay groaning on the
 ground,

 sobbing, sighing,
 my beating heart nigh
 broken,
 my boy for ever

My little sonny
 upon the ways of darkness
 too young to know
 them!—

that dread realm's angel
 would I

with gifts implore to bear
 him!

With humble offerings
 will I beseech Lord
 Buddha

'mong the Dêwa's ways
 along the way of grace
 to lead my little sonny!

¹ The author, probably, is Omi Okuŋa.

² The Sapta Ratna of Buddhism are no doubt meant. There were several of these categories— the more usual Japanese one is, Gold, Silver, Lapis-lazuli, Pearls, Rubies (Garnets?), Coral and Agate (Cornelian?).

³ In the text *sakikusa*. Some say a pine-tree is meant, some *Chamaecyparis* (*hino-ki*), some the lily. But *mitsuba* or *mitsuba-zeri* (*Cryptotaenia japonica*, Hassk), an umbellifer may be intended. In the word *sakikusa*, a play on *saki* (good fortune), may be implied.

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The Hills of Fair Yóshino in Spring.

Yoshino yama
kozo no shirari no
michigahete
mata minu kata no
hana zo tadzunen.

On Yóshino's hill-slopes
to gather last year's flowers
in vain we wander —
and blossoms new must seek we
on ways all unaccustomed.

(From the 'New Garner of
Songs Old and New.'))

Où sont les *fleurs* d'antan ?

BOOK VI, PART I

71

By Kanamura, on the occasion of a Royal Progress
to the Country Palace in Yóshinu in the summer
(5th) month of 7 Yaurau (Yôrô 723).¹

For a myriad ages	divine abode
through generations	to be for ever honour'd,
order'd ²	mid scenes of beauty
like tsuga trees	delightful to behold,
their abundant leaf'ry	where bright the rivers
showing,	and manifold the hills
thro' years unending,	are—
on Mifune by Tagi	O Palace-Royal
endure the palace	the very gods belike
of Akidzu in Yóshinu,	of old thy fair site stab-
fair Yóshinu,	lished. ³

¹ By the Mikado Genshō, 715–23. The translation is slightly abbreviated.

² The value of a quibble on *tsuga* is here attempted. *Tsuga* is a species of *Abies*.

³ There is an envoy worth giving:—

Where the hills are lofty,
and white with flower cascades,
and the streamy land
with roar of waters echoes,
'tis a scene of joy unending.

The point of the envoy turns on the word *ochitagitsu*, fall in cascades, applied to the mass of bloom, and the swirl of waters in the fair land of Tagi (cascades).

By Kuramochi no Asomi Chitose ¹.

Far-voiced as thunder	with every daybreak,
echoing under heaven	and whence are heard each
wide fame the beauty	even
of Yôshinu extolleth ² ,	the marshes murmur ⁴ —
whence from the up-	while these weary ways I
lands	wend me,
with right-wood ³ trees	nor e'er ungird me,
thick studded,	I would my folk were
are seen the rivers,	with me
and the mists there ever	on scene so fair to feast
wreathing	them !

¹ Of whom nothing is known.

² In these four lines an attempt is made to give part of the value of a twofold word-conceit in the text—*umakori*, pretty-woven, as epithet of *aya* (pattern), homophon of *aya*, strangely.

³ *Maki* trees—in early times species of *Chamaecyparis*—now *hi no ki* were probably thus designated—true or right trees, that is, for building purposes. At the present day species of *Podocarpus* are usually called *maki*. According to some authorities the *maki* tree was the modern '*sugi*' (*Cryptomeria japonica*).

⁴ The croaking of the frogs—not unpleasant to the ear of the Japanese poet.

73

By Akáhito, on the occasion of a Royal Progress to
the Land of Kii.¹

From Sáhika's ² moor,	where white the surf
where have his servants	breaks under
builded	the winds of ocean,
a country palace	and every tiderich harvest
for our dread lord and	of tamamo bringeth,
Sovran,	wherefore, 'The Island
the eye that roameth	Precious' ³
seawards will flash upon	from the days of the gods
a fair-beached island,	men call it.

¹ The Mikado was Shômei, and the Progress took place on the 5th of the 10th month of 1 Jinki (Oct. 28, 724).

² He built a palace here attracted by the beauty of the seaward view, inclusive of the island of Tamatsushima. [Sahika is not more than a couple of miles from my friend Mr. Minakata's residence.]

³ Tamatsushima yama, the mountain island of Tamatsushima, celebrated in three lays in the Seventh Book, and in one in the Ninth Book, also in the Kokinshiu. (See *post*, Preface to Kokinshiu.) The name may have reference to the richness of the shore in *tama*, washed up by the tide. What exactly *tama* were it is not easy to say,—*awabi* pearls, cornelians, agates, &c. There are two envoys; one extols the shores as rich with seaweed, the other delights in the cry of the cranes as they fly landwards among the sedges when the tide flows in over the lowlands, their feeding grounds.

74

By Kanámura, on the occasion of a Royal Progress to
the Country Palace in Yóshinu in the 5th month
of 2 Jinki (June-July 725).¹

With hi trees ² studded,	about the palace
with swirling rivers	on various service haste
water'd	them
are the fair hills	to do their duty—
of Yóshinu the pleasant,	most fair to see and
and as I gaze on	pleasant—
Yóshinu's clear river	and the gods of heaven,
from the upper waters	and the gods of earth I pray,
I hear the dotterels piping,	for a myriad ages,
from the lower waters	for time shall be as endless
the frogs their mates	as wild vine's ³ creeper,
a-calling,	may such high state
and fellow-lieges	endure,
I watch in busy multitudes	such is my humble prayer!

¹ The Mikado is Shômu.

² See List of m. k., *su* voce *ashihiki*.

³ *Kadzura japonica*.

75

By Akáhito.

O dread my Sovran	mid clear rivers,
in peace and power who	waters of streamy Kafuchi
resteth,	'tis there in spring time
thy palace standeth	the land is drown'd in
in Yóshinu engirdled	blossom ¹ ,
by manifold hills	in time of autumn
whose steeps are whelm'd	the mists roll o'er the
in greenery,	hillsides—

may the hills endure,	with thronging courtiers
the rivers run, for ever,	crowded
the stately palace	to time's end last I pray!

¹ Of the cherry and plum trees.

The three envoys are merely echoes of the principal *uta*.

76

A second Lay by Akáhito.

On the lesser moor	my dread lord ¹ will go
that high Akidzu crown-	hunting
eth	and start the stag
in pleasant Yóshino	and with the fall of evening
now are the trackers	the wild fowl rouse ² ,
order'd,	so is the chase commanded
the bowmen posted	amid the lush spring moor-
upon the craggy hillside—	lands!
for 'tis this morning	

¹ The Mikado. The envoy may be given:—Among the wooded hills, upon the moorlands, the Royal Chase forth goeth, arrows carry they under their arms, and the twang of the bow resoundeth.

² For hawking. I have slightly abbreviated the lay by shortening of a few common forms.

77

By Kanámura, on a Royal Progress to the Palace of Nániha in the godless (10th) month.¹

That shining ² Nániha	all men had long forgotten,
—tall reeds engirdle Ná-	deserted city,
niha—	and so at Nágara ³ builded
had been the capital	the Sovran's servants

on stout and lofty pillars the servants of the Sovran
 their dread lord's palace, their dwellings builded
 and there in peacefulness but travel-huts they
 he ruled Yamato— builded
 upon the waste of Aji and made their City-
 where sea-fowl gather Royal.⁴

¹ By the Mikado Shōmu in 725. The 'godless' month is the 10th, (November), in which the gods are all busied with discussing the affairs of the universe for the ensuing year, assembled in the bed of the River of Heaven, more correctly at Kidzuki in Idzumo.

² So the m. k. here is often written. But another meaning—probably derived from the common etymology of the name Nāniha (*nami-haya*, where the waves are swift—a name said to have been given by Jimmu; comp. N., *sub* Jimmu)—is *oshi teru* = *oshi-tateru*, referring to the surging or toppling of great waves, wave-worn.

³ In 665 in winter the Mikado removed the capital to Toyosaki, in Nāgara by Nāniha. Old people said . . . 'the movement of rats towards Nāniha from spring until summer was an omen of the removal of the Capital.' What the 'old people said' is a mere plagiarism from Chinese history (N. II. 205, note). The object of the poet is to remind Shōmu of the ancient story of Nāniha, the landing-place of the ancestor of all the Mikados, Jimmu. These removals were sometimes regarded as arbitrary (see the Hōjōki, *Journal R. A. S.*, April 1905), and perhaps the plagiarized passage in the Nihongi above cited is a satirical allusion to the readiness of some courtiers to anticipate a tyrannical act of the sovereign, forced upon him, probably, by the dominant faction of the moment.

⁴ The presence of the sovereign made a sort of City-Royal, even of the hastily run-up houses of his courtiers.

. 78

By Kuramochi no Asomi Chitose.

By the fair sea-strands	from the sea-deeps ever
—where men great whales	rolls in the heaving swell,
haul in—	in lines white-crested
to note 'tis pleasant	sweep in the nearer waters,
the wealth of trembling	as glide the months by,
sea-fronds,	as glide the days, 'tis
in the calm of morning	pleasant,
the countless ripples	for ever pleasant
sparkling,	on Suminoye's sea-strand
in endless following	to watch the foaming
the waves of evening	breakers.
breaking—	

79

A Lay by Akáhito.

As heaven and earth	and fisher-toilers
wide	of Nu's isle, nigh Ahaji,
is our dread Sovran's rule,	who search the deeps
as sun and moon long	still
may that mighty sway	from hidden sea-rocks
endure	gath'ring
from stately palace	pearls of awabi—
in wave-beat Naniha—	in many a ranged bark
	the waters riding,
of land and ocean	their loyal service render,
all days the spoil is brought	and brave the scene to
there	watch is. ¹

¹ In the Nihongi (N. I. 303), a curious story is told of the Mikado Richiu, in which the fishermen of Nu or No play a part. Before ascending the throne, Richiu desired to make

a nobleman's daughter, the Lady Kuro (*dame brune*), his concubine. By a stratagem she was seduced by the Imperial Prince Nakatsu whom Richiu had sent to the lady to arrange a lucky day for their union. The result was a plot on the part of Nakatsu to destroy the Mikado by firing his palace. The Mikado, however, though 'drunk and unable to get up', escaped through the help of his attendants, and raising troops went towards Mount Tatsuta, where he saw a number of armed men following in pursuit of him. He hid his own men, and finding that his pursuers were no fishermen sent by Nakatsu, gave the signal, whereupon his own forces, sallying from their ambush, fell upon the no fishermen and slew them all. Possibly a tribute of shell or pearls was in consequence imposed upon the islanders.

80

By Kanámura while accompanying a Royal Progress to the moor of Inami in Hárima (15th of the long-moon month of 3 Jinki) (Oct. 14, 726).

From Funase,	fare o'er the wave I cannot,
anigh Nakísumi lieth,	nor boat nor oar find
far o'er the waters	to bear me o'er the waters
is seen Ahaji's Mátshuho,	to greet those damsels
where folk fine seaweed	for whom my heart is
in the calm of morning	longing,
gather,	and woman-like
where fisher-maidens	unwarrior-like, I wander
at even tend the salt-fires	a lot too sad bewailing! ¹
men tell me, yet	

¹ The gathering of seaweed for food and the tending of the fires under the salt-pans on the sea-shore, were regarded as among the principal elements of picturesque nature. The poet indirectly praises the famous strand of Mátshuho by regretting his inability to visit the spot. There is no boat to carry him, he pleads, but in truth his duty is the bar, though as a servant of the Mikado he cannot allege it as a reason. The touch is characteristically Japanese.

• 81

By Akáhito.¹

In peace and power	the flames 'neath the salt-
where my great Sovran	pans nourish,
resteth—	and fair to gaze on
in Fujiye's waters	that busy bay it is,
—of wild wistaria mind-	that busy strand
ing — ²	right fair to watch it is,
by the vasty ocean	a scene my Sovran
Inami's moor bounding	full oft doth love to gaze
the fishers, fishing	on,
for tunny, crowd their	that shore on the bright
barks,	sea's border!
and fishermaids many	

¹ The occasion of the lay, of which the version is slightly abbreviated, is that of the preceding one.

² The wistaria is in Japanese *fuji*; here the allusion involves a reference to a kind of cloth made in ancient times of wistaria fibre.

There is an envoy :—

Midmost the jungle
o'ergrow'th Inami's moor
my couch I make me,
and every sleepy night still
my thoughts turn ever homewards.

82

By Akáhito on passing the Island of Kárani¹.

Away from thee,	no nightly pillow
my love whom I love	to roll for slumber may I—
dearly,	o'er sea must fare

on ship with birch-bark	past many a curved coast
fended,	oaring,
where now are mann'd	and island headlands
the oars and forth I wend	oft hide our ship from
me,	view ² —
Núshima's island	as each is rounded
anear Ahaji passing,	of thee I still think dear,
till Karani loometh	while the weary way is
beside Inami's border,	length'ning.
and from the islands	
I look towards my home-	I would I were
land,	a cormorant fishing mid-
but mid the green hills	most
'tis from my eyes secluded,	Káraní's waters—
mid manifold clouds	wer't so no pain of parting
'tis veiled from my gaze,	were mine, nor any
and on we oar still	sorrow. ³

¹ Káraní is sometimes said to be named after Korean (Kara) merchant-ships (*ni*), which resorted to that port. See N. I. 269.

² Anchored or beached in the bays.

³ He would have none of the regrets which vex a man who has to leave home and family on official duty.

The m. k. in the text, which are complicated with word-jugglery, are explained in the volume of texts.

By Akahito on passing the Bay of Minume ¹.

High Minume's bay,	doth miru deep-weed
Ahaji's isle that faceth,	flourish,
—of millet minding	in the nearer shallows
that maketh royal fare—	men wordless-wort do
in the outer waters	gather—

蓬萊

春日

五女

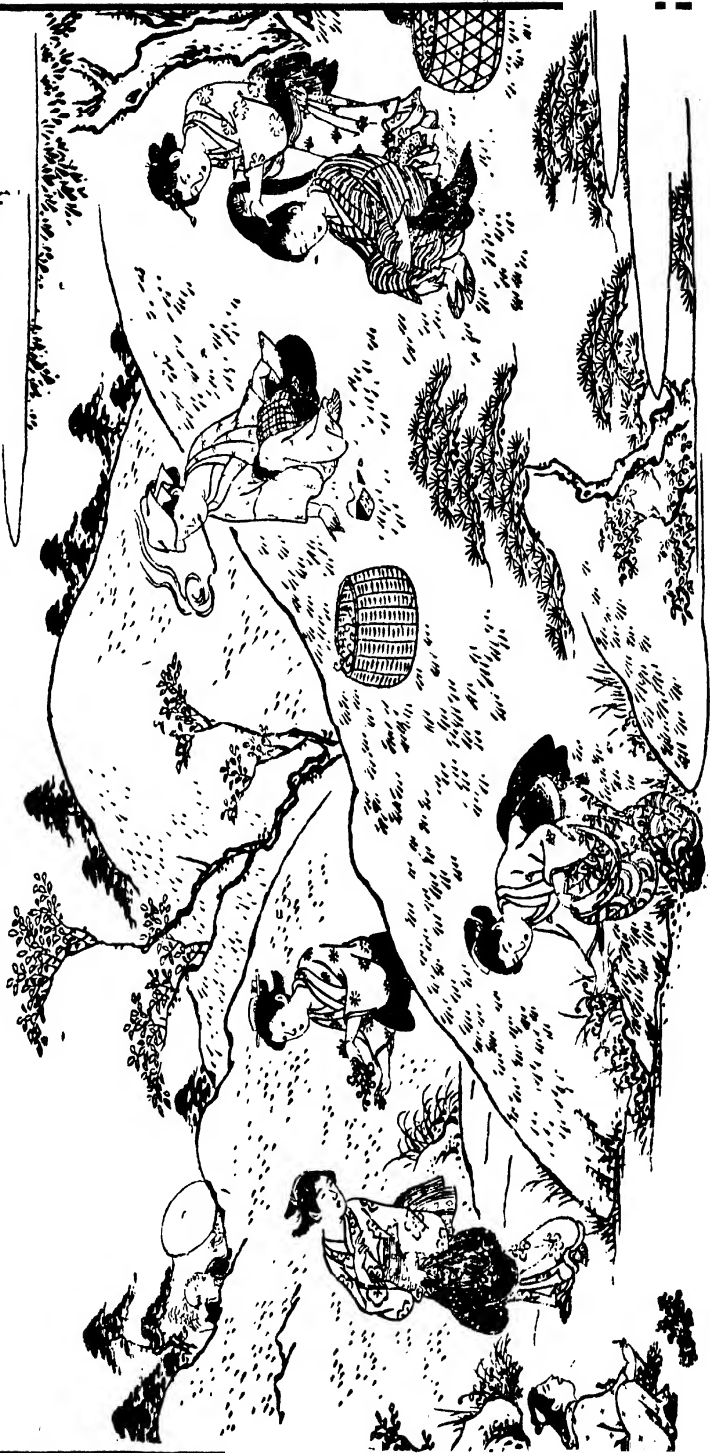
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The Moor of Kasuga. A Picnic Party in Spring.

*Kasugano no
kusaba ha yakete
mihenaku ni
shita mohe wataru
haru no sawarabi.*

(The Dainagon Kimizane.)

On Kasuga's moor
the grass they burn and lo,
there,
till then unseen,
spring up the shoots still
tender
of the bracken fern in spring-
time.

as deep my longing, woe's me, no tidings
 as deep-weed grow'th to' exchange we ever-parted,
 see thee, and so my days are life-
 as dumb of thee less!
 my world as any dumb-
 wort—

¹ Minume is in Settsu. The subject of the lay has departed from City-Royal on some appointed duty and regrets his separation from his spouse. The text, full of conceits of a typical kind, is worth a brief explanation. First, *awa* (millet) is suggested by the name of the island Ahaji. Next, *miru*, to see, is a homophon of *miru*, a sort of sea-wrack (Codium), and *nanori*, the name of a common sea-weed (sargassum), *na-nori*, do not speak. Lastly, in the Chinese script, characters meaning twice-two are used to signify the Japano-Chinese vocable *shi* (four), but *shi* is really employed as a pure Japanese emphatic particle. Under these conditions nothing beyond an imitation, more or less infelicitous, could be accomplished. The envoy represents the feelings of the deserted spouse:—

I would I were
 as close as smock to salt-girl
 to my beloved,—
 that never a day unmindful
 of thee, my lord, I were!

84

A Lay on the Detention, by Sovran command laid upon the Chief Ministers and Ministers, in the Palace Armoury in the 6th month of 4 Jinki (June-July, 727), of certain gentles of the Court.¹

On Kásuka's hill its wind-sway'd vernal
 —where lush the creepers leaf'ry,
 coil—² and mists are coiling
 now spring-time show- the mountain slopes en-
 eth wreathing,

while nightingales
sing blitheon Takamato—

'tis now the season
whereof the wild geese
tell us,
' the welkin filling
with noisy scream of
greeting,

when we were wont
amid the pleasant villages
to ride in companies,
we gentles of the Palace—

but vainly have we
awaited fair spring's
coming,³

ere led by pleasure—
with awe and dread con-
fess we—

to break our duty,⁴
would we ourselves be-
thought had

rush roots⁵ to gather
'and fern of polypody⁶
to ward off evil,
and in the running waters
our bodies cleansing
ill lusts from us forth
driven—
to high behests
had we, as servants loyal
of the lofty Palace,
obeisance duly render'd
now knew we spring's
new beauty.

The plum's white
flowers,
the willow's drooping
leafery,
they will not stay—
of merry jaunts⁷ by Saho
the rumours fill the
palace.

¹ The author is not named. A number of the Palace guards had gone out among the hills near City-Royal, some say to play a sort of polo, in defiance of a recent edict forbidding such neglect of duty which had become too common. They were put under arrest, and lament their exclusion from the pleasures of the season.

² A species of *Pueraria*, a creeping leguminous plant common in Japan.

³ That is, a spring not of enjoyment but of detention.

⁴ Their fault; had they anticipated such a falling off from duty, they would have taken the means mentioned in the following lines to avoid.

⁵ *Suga*, used for purificatory purposes in Shintô ritual; *suga suga* or *sugashi* means pure, undefiled.

⁶ Or *shinubu-gusa*, all kinds of (evil) desires, also the name of a fern, *Davallia Bullata*. .

⁷ Which they, being under arrest, were, unhappily, unable to join.

85 .

By the Lady Sakanohe on crossing Mt. Nago on
her way to City-Royal from Chikuzen in
2 Tempyo (730) ¹.

Ohónamúji	despite the name,
and Sukunabikona, ²	Mount Comfort doth af-
great gods, first gave	ford me
its name to lofty Nago, ³	o'er its rough ways now
but solace none,	faring.
nor comfort, no not any,	

¹ In the eleventh month (November) cold comfort—*nago*, may mean peace, comfort, &c.—is all that Nago's hill affords her, despite its name. The Irátsume was daughter of Saho Dainagon Arimaro Kyô, and younger sister of Tabiudo no Kyô; she had gone with the latter to Tsukushi and now returned with him to City-Royal. She leaves her husband and child behind her in Chikuzen, and is eager to reach the capital.

² The great and small gods of Izumo. Ohonamuji (*Oho-nu-mochi*), great name-possessor, or as probably, great land-*(nu)* possessor, was the son of Susa-no-wo. Sukuna-biko-na (or Sukuna-hiko-na) was a much older god, being of the third series, beginning with the Lord of the Centre of the Sky, *Ama no mi naka nushi*. His name seems to mean the Lesser or Dwarf Prince. But in both names *na* may equal *ne*, a term of endearment (F. I. 143. Consult also the excellent synopsis of Divine Genealogy, p. 309). See also N. I. 59 'Ohonamuchi and Sukunabikona with united strength and one heart constructed this sub-celestial world . . . The people enjoy their protection universally until the present day.'

³ Nago (*nagu*, *nagusamu*, *nagi*) is written to mean calm, peace, &c. The word-fancy is obvious. In the text there is a succession of *na* which may also be so intended. See also Aston's *Shintô*.

86

By Takahashi no Murazhi Mushimaro, on the Departure of Fujihara no Umakahi no Kyô for the Western Frontier ¹ on a military ² expedition.

Now rime and dew ,	and when spring cometh,
tint cloudy Tâtsuta's	escaping winter's prison,
woods	return, I pray thee
with colours ruddy	return, my lord, as swiftly
what time my lord forth	as bird e'er flieth,
fareth	when glow the red azaleas
o'er hills a hundred ³	anigh Okabe
to frontier-guarding Tsu-	that lieth by glowing
kushi—	Tâtsuta,

among the hills
among the hills and moor-
lands

the points of vantage
he chooseth for his
warriors,
as far as echoes

amid the hills reverb'rate
the land he vieweth,
the ordering thereof noting
, down to the scanty
tract of valley mur-
murer ⁴—

and cherry blossoms
do all the hill-slopes
whiten,
and I'll go forth
when thou to City-Royal
returnest, forth to meet
thee ⁵ !

o'er countless rebels,
unnumber'd hordes of
rebels
—no prayer is needed—
he shall return victorious,
and hero shall I hail him.

¹ In 4 Tempyô (732). The 'western frontier' means the marches and coasts of the vice-royalty of Tsukushi. According to the Zokki, Umakahi was this year sent on a special expedition to Tsukushi. A short pentesyllabic Chinese ode was addressed to him on his departure:—

In years gone by to Eastland,
and now to Westland farest thou,
thy life is one of burdensome journeys,
how oft wilt thou endure the toils of further warfare.

² In Yamato. In the third volume of the *Yamato Meisho* (Illustrated Description of Yamato) will be found an admirable woodcut of the Tâtsuta river, with its floating broidery of autumn leaves, which the Mikado is admiring, so often celebrated in Japanese song.

³ lit. 'five hundreds of hills.'

⁴ *taniguku*, toad, which only wanders over a small extent of ground. The intention is to illustrate the minute care with which an official ought to do his duty. These hyperboles are all borrowed from the Chinese. Anciently *taniguku* (translate 'toad') may have meant 'frog'.

⁵ The difficult m. k. *yamatadzuno* in the text cannot be adequately rendered.

87

A Lay chanted at a Banquet given by Sovran command on the dispatch of three *kyô* or commissioners on special duty to the Eastland, the Westland, and the south and north Midland.¹

To distant marchlands,	and pray the high gods,
my lords, I bid you fare,	their favouring grace
that I your Sovran	imploring,
may tranquil sway enjoy	success to lend you—
and fold my hands ²	
in perfect peacefulness.	and when returned
	ye shall present your duty,
and I, your Sovran,	rich wassail shall ye
will solemn offerings ³	of this rich sake quaff,
make,	rich sake with me quaff! ⁴

¹ By the Mikado Shômu in 4 Tempyô, 732. There were three *kyô* (ministers), Fujiwara no Ason Fusasaka, dispatched to the Eastland and South Midland, Tajihi no Mabito Agatamori to the North Midland, and Minakahi to the Westland. Their duty no doubt was to inspect and pacify (see N. II. 370, where a like nomination of commissioners by Temmu is mentioned under the year 685). Some commentators pretend that the Mikado was not Shômu, but the Queen-Regnant

Genshō (715–48), who is also credited with the authorship of the lay.

² A purely Chinese expression.

³ *Mi te gura* = *mi take kura*, fine-fabric-offering-stand. The offerings consisted, in early Japan, of cloths of hempen and mulberry-bark, represented, in later times by *gohei*, strips of white paper cut and folded in conventional imitation of vestments.

⁴ The banquet or feast referred to is equivalent to investiture of office, or decoration for faithful execution of duty. There are many examples in the Nihongi of the festive and ritual uses of sake (N. I. 154–6).

BOOK VI, PART II

88

By Akáhito, under Sovran command, on a Royal Progress in the 10th (godless) moon to the country palace in Yóshinu.¹

In Yóshinu	roll down their sparkling
my dread lord's palace	waters—
tow'reth,	and till the hills
high are the hills there,	their peaks shall cease to
the clouds upon their	rear,
peaks lie,	until the rivers
swift are the rivers,	shall end their swirl and
their murmur is delightful,	flood
in lofty majesty	shall yonder palace,
the mountains scale the	the vast and spacious
heavens,	palace,
the rivers allwhere	ne'er cease to be, belike ?

¹ The Mikado was Shōmu, and the progress was made in 730.

89

A Lay on the exile of Otomaro no kyô to Tosa ¹.

My lord of Furu ²	for act of treason
Isonokami's Highness	'gainst his liege Lord and
from path of duty	Sovran,
seduced by a frail girl's	an exile fareth
beauty,	to march-land heaven-
cord-bound, a prisoner,	distant—
like packhorse led by	
halter,	oh, may my lord
like stag by archers	the hill of Matsuchi ⁴
by bowmen set and	climbing
warded, ³	again behold his homeland.

90

A second Lay on the exile of Otomaro.

In dread obeisance	upon the ship's high prow;
to his great liege and	so round the headlands
Sovran	of all the isles in safety,
my lord now fareth,	in safety ever,
the paired lands ⁵ tow'rs	the capes of all the bays,
he fareth—	my dear lord fare,
with awe and trembling	rough waves nor foul
the god revealed invoke I	winds meeting,
of Suminoye, ⁶	unhurt and halesome,
his Presence to establish	fulfilled the time of exile,
in power divine ⁷	to his own land returning!

¹ This and the succeeding lay are attributed to the wife of the exile. The story as given in the Zokki runs thus:—Otomaro (who is called Kyô, an appellation used in relation to the third and higher ranks, and here given by courtesy to Otomaro,

who did not attain the third rank until later) was banished to Tosa, then a frontier land (*hina*), on account of an intrigue with Kume no Muraji Wakame, a lady favoured by the Mikado, she herself being sent to Shimôsa. The event took place in 11 Tempyô (739). In 13 Tempyô a general amnesty was proclaimed by the Mikado (Shômu), and Otomaro returned to City-Royal.

There is a difference of one year in the respective chronologies of Zokki and the Manyôshiu in this connexion, but in the chronology of ancient Japan that is hardly a blemish.

² At Iso no Kami, a village-district in Yamate County (Yamato), was a shrine known as Furu no miya, from which the ancient family of the lords of Isonokami took their designation of Furo no mikoto (*mikoto* = Highness, not applied to the mikado only and the princes of the blood, but also to persons of rank, especially if of royal descent; thus we have *tsuma no mikoto*, my lord husband, *imo no mikoto*, my lady younger sister, &c.)

³ The allusion is to a drive of four-footed game.

⁴ Matsuchi. The etymology may be *ma-tsuchi*, right or true soil (i. e. glebe-gods), or *matsu chi*, pine-wood land, or *ma utsu chi*, right-beat-land, that is, where the cloth is true-beaten. The last etymology (the true one probably, is either 'place of glebe-gods' or 'pine-wood land') is the one to which the m. k. *furu koromo* (old garment) in the text applies by a sort of word-play, not here renderable. In the *Hyakunin Isshiu* there is a *tanka* (XCIV) *Miyoshino no | yama no aki-kaze | sayo fukete | furusato samuku | koromo utsu nari* ('on the moorlands of fair Yoshino, cold are the autumn winds, at dead of night in my old village will be now heard the sound of the beating of the cloth') a reminiscence of home by a courtier in attendance on the Mikado at his country palace at Yoshino. In the text here the phrase is *furu koromo Matsuchi no yama yu*. Matsuchi is a hill on the borders of Kii and Yamato, which the traveller returning from Tosa, by way of some port in Kii, would cross on his journey to City-Royal.

⁵ The expression in the text, *sashi nami* (*sashi-nami no kûni*, i. e. Tosa), is explained in a long note in the Kogi. It may be a m. k. of *to* (door) part of Tosa—in ancient Japan the doors opened as they do in the West, often apparently as folding doors—more probably it = *sashi mukahe*, right opposite, Tosa

being opposite (in a manner) to Kii. Lastly it may refer to the fact that the island of Shikoku (i. e. the island of the four Provinces, Tosa, Iyo, Sanuki, and Awa), from whichever of the four quarters of the compass regarded, presents two (*sashi-nami* = twain = prominent) provinces or 'paired lands' to the traveller's view.

⁶ Suminoye's gods (or god?). On Izanagi's return from Hades (K. 39) he got rid of the pollutions of that 'hideous land' by bathing in the waters of an estuary, the creek of Suminoye or Sumiyoshi ('Beau-Séjour'), and, among a crowd of other gods, were thus brought into being the three gods of Suminoye, the god of the upper waters, the god of the middle waters, and the god of the lower waters. It was immediately after this fruitful ablution that were born of the washings of Izanagi's left eye the great-sky-shine goddess (the Sun) and from those of his right eye the moon-night-possessor (or perhaps, 'lord of the moon's excellence'), while the god born of the washings of his nose was the evil god Suso, identified by some with the rain-cloud or thunderstorm (O'Neill, *Night of the Gods*). But Dr. Aston does not accept this explanation, see his *Shintô*, where we learn that the gods are invoked as protectors against shipwreck and foul winds.

⁷ That is, a god revealed in mortal form (N. I. 342), perhaps an image. As to *ara* and *nigi* Kami (rough and gentle gods), see Aston's *Shintô*, 33.

91

A third Lay on the exile of Otomaro.¹

My honoured father	to City-Royal journeying
right well he loveth me,	due gifts do offer,
right well her son too	and I, too, dare to offer
my lady mother loveth,	coarse cloths and fine
yet their love maugre	cloths
must I towards Kashiko	the high god's grace
wend me	imploring
where all the lieges	on my weary way to Tosa.

¹ The occasion is that of the preceding two lays, but the lay is attributed to Otomaro himself.

A Lay of sorrow over the desolation of Nara, the
City-Royal.¹

<p>In peace and power where ruleth our dread Sovran, in wide Yamato since the days of the gods themselves in line unbroken hath Sovran after Sovran o'er all the land ruled— a thousand thousand years gone ² there 'twas decreed that Nara should be established for City-Royal, where when the bright spring showeth upon Mikasa anigh the hill of Kásuga the cherry blossoms along the moorland border whelm all the land in beauty, and kaho ³ warblers sing singing, ever singing; where dewy, rimy autumn cometh ruddy, and on Hakahi ⁴ and Tobuhi's lofty steep the leaves fall thickly</p>	<p>of hagi bush, and softly the hillsides cover 'neath hoof of stag to rustle his consort calling till all the welkin echoeth ⁵; where fair the hills are, and fair were the homes to dwell in, and wide the roads lay, by the lieges' mansions bordered— for a thousand ages still might fair Nara flourish, until that heaven and earth should come together ⁶ my ⁷ hope and trust was, but with the course of days obeisance loyal the Sovran still requireth ⁸ and as the blossom of spring doth fall and wither, and as with daybreak the birds wing far their flight, are gone the court- folk,</p>
---	---

their bravery⁹ all is no sound of horse-hoof
 ended, now echoeth where stood
 the ways untrodden, Nara,
 the ways they thronged Nara, City-Royal.
 are silent,

¹ Found also in the Tanobe collection (Tanobe no Sakimaro). Little is known of him. According to Keichiu he became Naniha no Kô in 20 Tempyô (748), and was sent by Tanabata no Sadaijin to Yakamochi in Etchû as *kareï* or counsellor. The [temporary] desertion of Nara took place in the reign of Shômu. On New Year's Day he occupied the Kuni Palace in Yamashiro. The walls were unfinished, and the reception of the Court was accomplished within curtained screens. About four years later the ruin of Nara had begun. In 744 the lay was composed. The Mikado referred to in the lay is, probably, Temmu.

² lit. 'eight hundred myriads, a thousand years.'

³ Kaho (face or beautiful?) birds, perhaps *uguisu*; according to some commentators, kingfishers, *hisui*, are intended.

⁴ Ikoma has been suggested, but Hakahi is supported by other passages in the Manyôshû. It was one of the hills used for signal-fires (*tobu-hi*) in the days of the Mikado Gemmei, 708-21. It may be that Tobuhi is merely a descriptive name for Hakahi (Yamato).

⁵ The stag, poetically at least, calls its mate about the time of the wilting of the *hagi* or bush-clover.

⁶ Heaven and earth, separated 'in the beginning', will come together again at the 'end' of the world.

⁷ It may be 'my' or 'our' or 'their' hope, &c.

⁸ The meaning of this passage is to me obscure. It seems to be, that circumstances change with times but always must the Mikado's leading be followed. Regret for Nara must not interfere with abandoning the old for the new capital at the Sovran's command. The poet had, no doubt, to 'save his face'.

⁹ *Sasudake no ohomiya hito*; *sasudake* is [earth] piercing bamboo [shoot]. The young shoots grow with extraordinary rapidity, hence the m. k. = 'flourishing,' &c. Another explanation is that it is an old name for *kibi* (Sorghum, sp. the kaoliang) and *kibi* had a variant *kimi*, homophon of *kimi* (lord)—hence the application of the m. k. to *kimi*, &c.

In praise of Kuni, City-Royal.¹

Illustrious Sovran	from neighb'ring woods,
within thy broad realms	where noisily in autumn
lie,	the hart his mate calls,
full many a land	where the sprays bear
and many homes of men—	wealth of blossom
in Yamashiro	in spring's fair season
where high the ranged	the steepy cliffs all
hills rise,	hiding—
where by the rivers	'tis fair to gaze on,
stand ordered homes well-	Futagi's spacious cham-
builded,	paign,
by Kase's steep	most excellent
on pillars stout is rear'd	for any City-Royal,
thy lofty palace,	therefore, belike,
Futagi's lofty palace,	our Sovran hath com-
whence thou the land	manded
rul'st—	of his royal will
where ever is heard the	there princely ² halls to
murmur	build him,
of running waters,	a princely palace build
and the song of birds ay	him.
echoes	

¹ From the lays of Tanobe Sakimaro. It is the Palace of Futagi rather than Kuni, City-Royal, that is the subject of the lay. The Mikado was Shômu (724-56). Kuni was the *miyako* from 724-28 only, according to Sir E. Satow's tables, but, according to the Zokki, the choice of the site was made in 12 Tempyô (740) on the advice of Tachibana no Môroye (one of the supposed compilers of the Manyôshiu), and the new capital

was inaugurated with a banquet and consecrated by a religious mission to Ise in 13 Tempyô.

Futagi is usually interpreted as *futa tagi* (two torrents, or fork of a rapid river, or of the river Tagi). It designates the tract of land in Yamashiro in which Kuni was built.

² 'Princely' is the nearest equivalent I can find for the m. k. (*sasudakeno*), as applied to *ohomiya*, palace. See preceding lay, note 9.

94

A Second Lay in Praise of Kuni.

Futagi's palace	when loud the stag his
where our dread Sovran	mate calls,
ruleth	the mists sweep sky-
mid high hills riseth	wards,
with many a tall tree	whereof sharp rains are
shaggy,	born,
where swirling rivers	and all the scene
foam noisily through the	with ruddy tints is brave—
plain,	.
where in the spring-time	thro' countless ages
amid the bushes	the while may all folk
the nightingales sing	render,
loudly,	good service render
and sprays all blossom-	to their great Lord and
ing	Sovran,
with glow of painted	and ay unchanged
flowers ¹	through generations end-
embroider gaily	less
the rough rock-faces	endure the stately palace!
frowning,	
and where in autumn,	O hill of Kase ²

(of young maids' toil with days hath grown
 reminding thy glory
 spin endless hemp- achieved in City-Royal!
 skeins)

¹ One, perhaps, may compare:—

ἡ λίγεια μινύρεται

θαμίζουσα μάλιστ' ἀηδὼν

χλωραῖς ὑπὸ βάσσαις.—*Oedip. Colon.*

² The homophon of Kase means a hank of yarn (hempen), and the point of the conceit, in addition to its word-play preface, is to suggest a hope that the new capital shall flourish for a time endless as the thread of the hank. The personification in the translation may here be admissible.

95

A Lay of Regret on the ruined state of Kuni, City-Royal, visited in Spring.¹

On the moor of Mika	how fair the scene was,
stood Kuni, City-Royal,	by Kase's hill o'erlook'd
where high the hills are	where the god his shrine
and clear run the rivers	hath, ²
and fair the scene is	where still the sprays
as ever have men declared	a-blossoming
it,	show all their wealth,
and fair 'to dwell in	their wealth of varied
as ever to me hath seem'd	colour,
it—	where hosts of warblers
but now 'tis desolate,	still fill with song the
none tread the ways	valleys—
deserted,	O pleasant land,
the homes are empty	how men might love to
where men once dwelt as	dwell there,
neighbours—	alas, 'tis lone and desolate!

¹ In the Lays of Tanobe (see 92). The lay was composed after the final removal of the Court to Nara.

² Motowori reads here *umi wo kaku* as in the envoy to 94. The Kogi gives an account of the choice of Kuni or Nániha as capital. Twenty-three courtiers of the fifth and higher rank and 157 of lower rank voted for Nániha, and twenty-three of fifth and lower rank and 138 others for Kuni.

96

A Lay made at the Palace of Nániha.

By Nániha's ¹ palace,	anigh the sea
where oft our Sovran	to listen to the dott'rels
fareth,	upon the shore sands
anigh the sea	their mates a-calling
(whence men haul mon-	as fall the ebbing waters,
strous whales !)	and note the screaming
fair pearls are gathered	of busy flights of crane-
upon the strand where	fowl
roar	mid the reeds resound-
the morning breakers,	ing—
and pleasant 'tis to hear	to hear folk tell e'en
the endless murmur,	of scene so fair onelength
and pleasant 'tis at even	to view Ajifu ²
the sound of oars	(fare royal provideth)
to hear across the calms,	where riseth the stately
or with the daybreak,	Palace
from the night's long sleep	one wearieeth ne'er to gaze
awaking,	on.

¹ See 92, 95. In 16 Tempyô (A.D. 744) the treasury and great shields were removed from Kuni to Nániha, and shortly afterwards the store of arms was taken by water to the latter place. There, accordingly, the ministers of the Mikado requested that the Court should be removed, which was graciously permitted.

² Ajifu, aji- field (so written), is in Settsu. Aji (Anas formosa) were royal fare, part of the tribute in kind paid by the people.

97

A Lay made on passing the Bay of Minume.¹

Since the far foretime	fair harvest floateth
of the god of countless	of welcome tamamo sea-
spears, ²	spoil ;
of ships and sailors	on that strand shining,
hath Minume been the	on those clear floods for
haven	ever
'fore all exalted—	eyes all unwearied
upon the shore there,	may men turn, still
blown by the winds of	delighted,
morning	on that fair strand and
the waves break nois'ly,	sea-flood.
and with the tides of	
evening	

¹ Among the lays of Tanobe (see 92). The translation is slightly abbreviated. Minume is in Settsu.

² *Yachihoko*. He is the god Ohonamuchi ; see *ante*, lay 85, also Aston's *Shintô* and *Nihongi*.

BOOK VIII, PART I

98

A Lay on the Hill of Kusaka.¹

I leave behind me	as o'er the hill I wend me
wave-worn Nániha far-	amid the blossoms
ing	of áshibi ³ , full flowered ;
towards Kusaka,	ah ! fine to see,
(where green the swaying	and fine my kind love,
reeds are, ²)	were it
and darkness falleth	to meet, no further faring.

¹ Said to be the composition of a person of mean condition, no name being given.

The subject of the lay is supposed to be a girl who is anxious to arrive at the place where her lover is to meet her.

² The sense of this line is partially implied in the name Kusaka (in Kawachi).

³ *Asebi* (Andromeda japonica).⁷ There is here a sound-quibble, of which an imitation is given in the repetition of the word 'fine'.

99

In Praise of Cherry Blossoms.¹

For heads of ladies,	these wide realms
for heads of courtly gentles	brighten,
to weave in garlands,	O fair to see the blossoms
O fair the cherry blooms	of the cherry tree in
are	flower!
from end to end	

¹ By Wakamiya no Ayumaro, of whom nothing is known. In the *Jimmei-jisho* a man of that name is said to have flourished in the period Jōkwan (859-79), but he cannot have been the author of this lay.

100

A Lay of Farewell, addressed to Hironari on his Departure for China.¹

A day ne'er endeth	as the night hours pass,
I yearn not for my lord,	and calleth
for whom my love is	the crane his partner,
the thread of all my life-	from Nániha's haven
days ² ,	fareth ;
who now obeisant,	the tall ship ready,
as mortal man he must be,	the stout oars all forth
to his dread Sovran,	furnish'd,

over the white waves	and pray the high gods
of the great sea-waste ³ he	to have him in their
oareth,	keeping,
beyond the islands,	and swift return vouch-
upon the far tracks speeding	safe him
to Morokoshi ⁴ —	to me in the homeland
the while right offerings	waiting!
take I	

¹ In 5 Tempyô (734), Tajihi no Mabito Hironari was sent as envoy to China. The embassy is the subject of lay 68 in the fifth book, and of lays 119 and 254 in the ninth and nineteenth books respectively.

² So I render *iki no wo ni omoïu*, conf. 101.

³ *arumi*, for *aruru umi*, which is exactly πόντος ἀτρύγτος.

⁴ An old name for China.

There are two envoys, one of which expresses the desire of the vassal or friend (or mistress?) to be the rudder-oar of the traveller's ship, that there may be no parting. Though 'offered' by Kanámura, the lay must be the work of Yakamochi or Sakanohe.

101

By Yakamochi, on sending a Spray of Orange Blossom
to his Wife, the Elder Lady Sakanohe.

When shall I see	the leafy sprays are bend-
thee?—	ing,
the while the garden	with every morrow
midmost	I gaze upon them hoping
the bosky orange	they may endure
in leafy richness revels,	till come clear moonlit
and now nigh cometh	nights,
the lush ¹ month, time of	when thou shalt, dear,
garlands,	who art my very life's
and pregnant blossoms	thread ² ,

a glimpse, if scanty,
gain of my flowering
orange—

oh, orange flowers !
I pray they may not
scatter,
and jealously
my bloomy treasures
watch I
when—mischievous—
that rogue the cuckoo
cometh,
each ruddy daybreak
his reckless spoiling
doeth,¹
I chase him, chase him,
but more he cometh,
shouteth,

and now the blossoms
alas ! the ground they're
strewing,
nor help is any,
so spray I pluck and send
thee
my dear, for thee to look on.

A spray of orange
that groweth in my
garden,
on mid-month night,
the clear full moonlight
under,
I thought to show thee,
dear.

¹ So *sa* may be rendered—the fifth month (June—July). The fruits of the orange were small and threaded as a chaplet.

² The thread on which the years of my life are strung—a Buddhist notion.

³ The cuckoo spoiling the orange blossoms is a Chinese idea. The bird (*hototogisu*) is the *Cuculus poliocephalus*, which flits restlessly in and out of the orange bushes, on moonlight nights especially, and rends or rubs to pieces the leaves and blossoms. The cry resembles 'hut-tu-tu, hut-tu-tu', very rapidly repeated.

BOOK VIII, PART II

102'

On Tanabata night, by Omi Okura.

(There are ten lays on this subject, of which two, a short lay and a long lay, are given).¹

Upon the waters
of the River of Shining
Heaven²
oh ! will my lord
his bark this seventh night
launch
and fare across to love me ?

Since earth and heaven
long, long ago were
parted,³
upon the shore
of heaven's wide flood
standing
the youthful Herdman
for the Webster Maiden
„ longing,
with love thoughts
pining,
no peace knew in his
heart—
no peace knew,
sighing, sobbing ever,
for ever gazing
upon those waters blue,
for ever weeping,

upon the cloud-vault
gazing,
in manner piteous
so stood the youth
lamenting,
so stood the lover
with empty yearnings
stirr'd—
for bark red-painted
how sorely did he long,
with oars bejewell'd,
with trusty oars forth
furnish'd
to beat the waters
in the calm time of the
morning,
or flood at even
to cleave with level keel—
so stood he idly
by the stream of shining
Heaven,
her scarf a-waving,
his fine arms far out-
stretched
embrace desiring,
and heart with love afire
while Autumn tarried
still.⁴

Here we see a rustic dance celebrated on Tanabata night—the night of the 7th of the 7th moon, when the lover-stars cross the River of Heaven (Milky Way) to enjoy their one embrace of the year. The dance is known as the Magpie dance, in allusion to the belief which forms the theme of the *tanka* from the *Hiyakumon* numbered X on p. 307 of this volume.

The verse to the right is taken from the New Collection of 'Thousand-year Congratulatory Odes'.

<i>Katsuragi no</i>	Of Katsuragi
<i>kami naranedomo</i>	'tis not the god reproach we,
<i>Amanogaha</i>	'tis yon sad daybreak
<i>akuru wabishiki</i>	upon the Magpies' Bridge
<i>kasasagi yô hashi.</i>	dawns
(The second Saga In.)	o'er Heaven's river must bear
	him!
	(i.e. away from his love whom
	once only in the year he
	meets.)

To the left is an epigram:

<i>Akenureba</i>	With morning's twilight,
<i>chikadzuki modosu</i>	oh, the dance
<i>odori kana!</i>	nearer, farther, backwards,
(Shikô.)	forwards!

Symbolizing the meeting and farewell of the lover-stars.

The god of Katsuragi was the god of Bridges—he was so ugly he only showed himself by night.

¹ Omi Okura is mentioned in the Zokki, and attained the fifth rank. The *tanka* is dated the seventh of the seventh month 724. *Tanahata* (*ta na hata*, but not so written) seems to mean handloom. As this feast (seventh night of seventh month) is always mentioned in the Anthology as dating from the age of the gods, it would appear to have had considerable antiquity even in the eighth century. But its reference to the divine age may signify nothing more than the honour in which it was held. The story is a Chinese one, and as summarized in Mayers's *Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 97, *sub* Khien Niu, is seen to be connected with the relative position of the 'Cowherd' constellation (β γ Aquila, or, according to others, parts of Capricornus and Sagittarius) and the weaver-woman or Webster star (α Lyra), on either side of the Milky Way. Hwainan tsz (*alias* Liu An or Liu Ngan), who died B.C. 122, found or invented the story that the two stars come together every year on the seventh night of the seventh month (at half moon nearly) by means of a bridge (*kasasagi hashi*) made by magpies joining their wings together. During the rest of the year the lover-stars are supposed to be 'star-gazing' at each other vainly across the stream. All sorts of legends and poetic motives have been founded upon this story. Chang Khien, who went on an embassy to Western Asia in the second century B.C., is said to have rowed up the Yellow River (which was supposed to be the continuation on earth of the Milky Way) until he met a herdman and a weaving-woman, the latter of whom gave him her shuttle, telling him to show it on his return to a certain star-gazer. Chang Khien did so, and the wise man discovered that on the very night in question a wandering star (Chang Khien) was seen to intrude itself between Aquila and Lyra. Thus Chang Khien found he was the only mortal who had ever rowed on the waters of the Heavenly Stream. In Japanese the herdboy is called Hikohoshi and the webster-woman Tanabata tsu me, as in the text.

² The Milky Way.

³ 'In the morning of the world,
when earth was nigher heaven than now.'

Browning.

⁴ In various difficult passages I follow the explanations of the Kogi.

103.

Lines to his Wife, by Yakamochi ¹.

Full of sad thoughts,	my heart is full of sad-
dear,	ness,
I know not any solace ;	of sorrow full 'tis,
oh, would each mor-	wherefore to find me
row,	comfort
hand held in hand to-	to Takamato,
gether,	to hill and moor I hasten,
about our garden	my misery
we might as lovers	to ease in wandering there
wander,	among the flowers,
and as fell ev'ning,	among the blooms and
our chamber well pre-	flowers ³ ,
paring,	but more my love
our shining sleeves	grow'th
in close embrace comming-	as more ' I gaze upon
ling,	them,
there wait the daybreak	and howsoe'er
and love as we were-wont	I would shake off my sad-
to—	ness
the hill-bird ² , say they,	for thee my heart more
beyond the hill well-	yearneth.
wooded	
his mate he wooeth,	On Takamato
but I am but a mortal,	I see the pretty face-
nor help for me,	flower ⁴ —
nor help for me is any,	and so thy beauty
each day, each night, I	how should I there forget,
away from thee know	dear,
tears	how should I there for-
unceasing ever	get !

¹ Sakanohe.

² The *yamadori*, or copper cock. His mate is supposed to fly away over the hills at night.

³ The plum and cherry blossom on the hills.

⁴ *Kahobana* = *kakitsubata* (*Iris laevigata*).

BOOK IX, PART I

104

In Praise of Fair Támara of Suwe in Kádzusa.¹

In the land of Aha	e'en uninvited
—where the long-	about her doorway linger;
breath'd ² birds are	those, too, who dwell
flocking—	anear, in sudden fashion
in Suwe village	their wives forgetting,
—Bow-end ³ the people	the key of all their treasure
call it—	to give her will they,
in Suwe, say I,	ere she the gift de-
fair Támara she dwelleth,	mandeth,
wide-bosom'd is she,	for such her beauty ⁵
off figureslim, waistslender	all whom she approacheth,
as any sand-wasp ⁴ ,	fair Támara, bewitcheth.
and very sweet of face,	
a flower of beauty	
in every smile she seemeth,	If by her doorway•
and all who wend them	one stayeth but a moment,
along the spear-ways,	he leaveth witless,
her smiling seeing,	his way in life is lost him
to further fare forget they,	as a wanderer's by night!

¹ The author of this lay is unknown. Suwe, placed in Kadzusa in the argument, in the text is placed in Awa, an adjoining province, which at the date of the lay was probably not yet separated from Kadzusa.

² According to Mr. Minakata, with whom I agree. The

Kogi gives 'long-tailed'. The word is *Shi-naga*. *Shi* we find in *tama-shii* (soul-precious breath, ψυχή); also in *kaze*, wind (*kami-shi*, *kanshi*, *kaze* = god's-breath). The bird intended may be a *niho* (sp. perhaps *Podiceps Philippensis*).

³ In the text *adzusa yumi suwe*, whitewood-bow—*suwe*. *Suwe* is a bow-end, where the string is attached; see woodcut of a bow, with parts named, in the *Oho Yedo Setsuyô*, a useful popular encyclopaedia, published in the last year of the Shôgunate.

⁴ *Sugdru*. In Japanese there are five homophons of *sugaru*, but the choice here lies between *sugaru*, a kind of deer, and *sugaru*, a sand-wasp (*Vespra fossoris*, M.).

⁵ Another reading is *tori-yosohi*, 'dress oneself finely'. The heroine of the lay is evidently a courtesan.

105

The Lay of Uráshima.

Upon a day,	the tale was seven,
a misty day in spring-	his threshold never cross'd
time,	he,
all idly wandering	for he had oared him
on the sands of Sumi-	far o'er the great blue sea-
noyè,	plain,
the boats a-fishing	and there the daughter
upon the heaving waters	of the mighty sea-god
I watched, and suddenly	met he,
an old-world tale remem-	O happy wight he!
bered.	
	as still the oar he plied,
'Twas long ago when	they sat together,
Uráshima, the Childe	and long the twain devisèd,
of Midzunoye—	until love bound them,
a boasting fisher was he	at last in union bound
of bream and tunny—	them,
for days and days until	then far'd they further,
that	

to the sea-god's palace
 fared they,
 and hand in hand held
 the inmost bower reach'd
 they,
 there, age unknowing,
 by death unvisited,
 in lasting joyance
 one life they thought to
 lead—

but the world-wight,
 ever
 a mortal in his folly,
 thus spake his dear,
 'A little while, I fain,
 sweet,

from thee would wend
 me,
 my father and my mother
 to seek and greet,
 but not beyond the morrow
 shall we be parted'—
 so heard the maid, and
 answered,

'if thou desirest
 to our Deathless Land
 again to turn thee,
 and our fair life of love
 to live for ever,
 take thou this comb-box
 with thee;

but good heed have thou
 the comb-box ne'er to
 open'—

so vow'd Uráshima
 to do as he was bidden,
 and wended worldwards
 and came to Suminoye,
 and there his home-
 place,
 there his villagesought he,
 but found no village,
 nor there his home-place
 found he,
 and marvelled greatly,
 for that, but three years
 by-gone,
 were fence and house too
 from all the land evan-
 ished—

then he bethought him,
 the precious comb-box
 given,
 perchance, if open'd,
 might bring back home
 and village—
 and so the lid
 a little lifted he,
 when out came coiling
 a vast white roll of cloud,
 which spread and drifted
 towards the Deathless
 Land—

Uráshima,
 he ran with haste and
 anguish
 the cloud pursuing,

and rav'd and wav'd his	till life departed
sleeves,	from Midzunoye's Childe,
and in an agony	Uráshima,
fell headlong on the strand,	whose home once stood
his limbs a-tremble—	anigh
what time all suddenly,	where I this lay indite.
his heart did fail him,	—————
his body, erst so youthful,	In the Deathless Land
did shrink and wrinkle,	still his abode might be,
his jetty hair fell grey,	but foolish world-wight,
and eke his breathing	was that sword-girdled ¹
grew breath by breath	gentle,
still weaker,	the Childe of Midzunoye.

The lay seems founded upon a Chinese motive (itself perhaps of Indian origin), and many of the elements in the *Fûdoki* story are distinctly Chinese; nevertheless the treatment is entirely Japanese, and whatever grace lay or story may possess is of a Japanese, not a Chinese character.

In the lay the story is less fully and much less interestingly told than in the *Tango Fûdoki* ('Description of Tango')², said to have been written in the first half of the eighth century, earlier than the *Manyôshiu* itself. I subjoin a complete translation of the story, and of the *tanka* appended to it³:—

In Tango is a county known as Yosa [still so named], and in Yosa a canton⁴ called Heki, and in this canton⁵ a village⁶, Tsutsugaha. Among the dwellers in this village

¹ This is merely a fixed epithet of 'gentle'.

² Tango was originally a part of Tamba, but separated in 6 Wado (708-15).

³ The story is referred to in N. I. 368, but the commentators reject it as an interpolation.

⁴ This is better than 'village' for *sato*. Prof. Florenz uses the word 'gau'.

⁵ According to Prof. Florenz.

⁶ *mura*.

was the ancestor of the Fuhi Shitabe no Kami,⁷ whose name was Tsutsugaha no Shimako. He was a man of handsome appearance and incomparable elegance. He was afterwards known as Midzunoye⁸ no Uráshima no Ko. The ancient author Ihobe Umakahi no Muraji has described him much as above, so I will set about my narrative.

In the days of the Asákura Mikado (Yuryaku, 457-9) Shímako⁹ rowed out alone to fish with line in mid-sea. For three days and nights he fared onwards and caught nothing. Then he hooked a five-hued tortoise¹⁰, and was greatly surprised. He put the animal in the bottom of the boat, and immediately fell asleep. The tortoise at once changed into a damsel of peerless beauty, and Shímako [awaking] spoke to her, and said :

‘We are far away from any dwellings of men, and the sea is empty of men, too. Who art thou that thus suddenly appearest here?’

She smiled, and answered :

‘Elegant youth, you are all alone on the blue sea, with none to have converse with ; so I came to you, riding on the winds and clouds ¹¹.’

Then Shímako spoke again :

‘Whence camest thou on the winds and the clouds?’

She said :

‘I am a Sennin ¹² from above the skies, and I say to you hesitate not, but devise with me lovingly.’

⁷ Prof. Florenz has Kusakabe no Obito, but this does not seem to agree with the characters in the text as cited in the Kogi.

⁸ Midzunoye may have been an old name of Suminoye, but it became that of a family. Ko is ‘son’, used here as an honour-title of address. It often signifies Prince or Saga.

⁹ Shímako may be an abbreviation of Uráshima no ko.

¹⁰ The five colours varied somewhat ; generally they were green-blue, red, yellow, white, and black.

¹¹ ‘Through the air.’

¹² Celestial being—not exactly an angel. The character means ‘recluse of the hills’. In Taouism, one who by virtue rises above man yet is not divine.

But Shímako, seeing she was in truth a Sennin, was afraid, and knew not what to do. Then she spoke again, and said :

‘I have determined to become your humble spouse, for as long as heaven and earth and sun and moon shall last. What think you ? tell me. ‘Do you not agree ?’

Shímako answered :

‘I hardly dare say.’

But the damsel added :

‘You would do well to change your course, and steer for the Eternal Land.’

Next she bade him close his eyes, and in a trice they came to a great island in the middle of the ocean. It looked like an expanse of precious stones. There were gateways with high keeps over them, and also many-storied pavilions shone there¹³. All was quite different from anything Shímako had ever seen or heard of. The twain, holding each other’s hands, then walked slowly towards the Palace, and after a time came to a great gateway.

The Sennin then said :

‘Wait here a little while.’

Then she opened the gate and went in. And presently seven young gentles came out and, talking among themselves, said :

‘He is the Princess Tortoise’s husband.’

Next eight young gentles came out, and, talking among themselves, said :

‘He is the Princess Tortoise’s husband.’

So Shímako knew the Sennin was called the Princess Tortoise.

After a little time the Princess herself came out, and Shímako told her what had occurred.

She answered :

‘The seven gentles are the stars of the “rising” constellation (Pleiades), and the eight gentles are the stars of the setting constellation (Hyades). Do not be astonished.’ So

¹³ This description is altogether Chinese in character.

saying, she went on in front and led the way within. And her parents came to meet them, and all saluted and took their seats. Then they explained to Shímako the difference between mortals and the denizens of that heavenly palace, and referred to the happy meeting of a divine being and a mortal, after which all kinds of sweet-smelling refreshments were offered. Her elder and younger brothers and sisters lifted cups and offered nectar, and young maidens with rosy cheeks came in from the neighbouring mansions, who amused the guest and made the empty air resonant with their celestial songs, and danced celestial dances before him. The joyance and feasting were ten thousand times more pleasing than among mortal men.

Meanwhile Shímako saw that it was getting dark; but as twilight deepened all the divine beings gradually withdrew and only the Princess was left behind with him. So, eyebrow to eyebrow and sleeve enlaced with sleeve, they became bride and bridegroom.¹⁴

After this fashion Shímako forgot his former life, diverting himself in the Palace until soon three years had passed. Suddenly a feeling of homesickness arose in his heart. When alone, he thought with sorrow of his father and mother, and his grief and misery increased greatly, so that day by day he fell to sighing more and more. At last the Princess spoke and said:

‘I have watched your face of late, my Prince; it is no longer what it was. Tell me what ails you, whatever it may be.’

He answered:

‘The men of old said that the ordinary man longs for his village as the dying fox to lay his head on his own earth. I took that for foolish talk, but now I know it is true.’

She said:

‘Do you wish to go back to your own land, then?’

¹⁴ The restrained and decent language of the story—very different from that of the native myths collected in the *Kojiki*—is additional evidence of its Chinese—originally Indian—origin.

He answered :

‘Though near, I went away from the ways of my relations; though far, I came to this land of Sennin. I cannot resist my affection for my kin, and so I have come to think perhaps I might hope to return for a little while to my own folk and salute my father and mother.’

The Princess felt to weeping and sighing, and said :

‘I thought we were to live together for ten thousand years, as long as bronze and stone endure. Why do you yearn after your own folk so much as to wish to desert me for a time?’

Then hand in hand they wandered up and down, devising with each other, and torn by grief, and sleeve touching sleeve, they came to a parting of the ways. There followed them the Princess’s father and mother and all her family, and they all sorrowfully took leave of Shímako; and the Princess gave him a precious comb-casket¹⁵, and as she gave it to him she said :

‘If you do not forget your humble wife, and if you desire to see her again, keep carefully this casket, and above all be sure never to open it to look inside.’

Then they parted, and Shímako got into his boat, when she bade him shut his eyes, which he did, and in a trice found himself at his old home at Tsútsugaha. He gazed at the village, but men and things were so changed there was nothing he could recognize. So he spoke to a countryman he met, and said :

‘Where is the house where the family of Midzunoye no Uráshima no Ko formerly dwelt?’

The man answered :

‘Whence come ye who ask about a man who lived so long ago? I have heard old folk talk of one Midzunoye who rowed out into the blue sea all alone and never came

¹⁵ Comb and mirror were among the earliest treasures of the women of ancient Japan—both were doubtless among the most admired importations from China. The *tai* mentioned in the lay is a species of sea-bream (*Pagrus cardinalis*), and is the most excellent in flavour of Japanese fishes.

back. But this happened three hundred years ago. How is it all of a sudden you come here and ask about him?'

Well, Shímako had left all his heart behind him to come and salute his parents, and now not a single relative remained. So he spent several tens of days wandering about his old homeplace, until one day his hand touched the casket, and he bethought him of the Sennin who had given it him; but he forgot what had passed between them, and with a sudden movement opened the casket. Before he could so much as look inside it, in a moment something fragrant issued from the casket, amid the winds and clouds (into the air), and coiled upwards towards the sky. For Shímako had gone against what had passed between the Sennin and himself—now far from her, never should he behold her again. So, turning his face towards the Immortal Isle, and beside himself with grief, he sobbed and sighed and wandered up and down, and then, brushing the tears from his eyes, he made a verse and sang:—¹⁶

Toward the Deathless Land
the coil of white cloud rolleth,
and beareth with it
the last words of Uráshima,
the Childe of Midzunoye.

To which the celestial maiden answered softly from afar:—

Yamato-ward
the rising wind doth blow
as clouds in heaven
far, far thou art from me—
yet thou forget me not.

And Uráshima sang:—

For thee, dear, longing
at dawn of day I stand
in mine own doorway,
and hear the waves that break
on the shores of the Happy Land.¹⁷

¹⁶ The following *tanka* are all quoted in the Kogi commentary.

¹⁷ With the above three *tanka* I may, perhaps, venture to

In a later day men have sung:—

Uráshima,
the Childe of Midzunoye
unopened had he
that casket kept, as bidden,
his love he ne'er had lost.

And again (but the text is deficient and the rendering conjectural):—

To the Land Immortal
the rolling cloud is borne,
nor stayeth a moment,
had I but kept my promise
I should not know this sorrow.

The story of Yüan Chao may properly find a place here. 'During the reign of Hanming (A.D. 58-75), when [Yuan Chao was] rambling with his friend Liu Chhen among the Thienthai hills, the two travellers lost their way, and after wandering about for many days were at length guided by accident to a fairy retreat among the hills, where two beauteous sisters feasted them on the seeds of the *huma* (hemp plant), and admitted them to share their couches. Returning at length to their homes, they found with dismay that seven generations had elapsed since they left their homes' (Mayers's *Chinese Reader's Manual*, Pt. I, No. 959). Perhaps the earliest embodiment of the Taouist myth in Japanese legend is to be found in the story of Ho no Susori and Hohodemi (Aston's *Shintô*, 113). Ninigi, the grandson of the Sun-Goddess, was sent down to earth by the gods. There he married the Princess of Tree-blossoms, rejecting the Princess of Rocks as too ugly, who thereupon cursed her (younger) sister's progeny. This is why human

compare a rhyme of Provence taken from Prof. Ker's *Dark Ages*:—

Quan la douss' aura venta
deves vostre païs
m'es vejaire qu'eu senta
odor de paradis.

life fades and perishes like the blossom of trees. [All this is entirely Chinese in tone.] Retiring to a doorless house (parturition hut) she bore three children. Of the two elder of these the elder was Ho no Susori, and he was a fisherman, the younger was Hohodemi, and he was a hunter. They exchanged fishhook and bow and arrows, but neither could learn the use of the other's weapons. Hohodemi into the bargain lost his brother's fishhook and offered him a number of his own make. These were, as might be expected, ill-made, and Susori raised such a pother that his brother went down to the seashore and stood there weeping bitterly. There came to him the Old Man of the Sea, who advised him to visit the sea-god's palace at the bottom of the sea. Hohodemi went there accordingly, and climbed up a cassia tree near the gate overshadowing a well. While he was there the daughter of the sea-god came out to draw water, and saw his face reflected in the well. She fell in love with him, and at her instance her father called a council of the sea-fishes to find the hook which was eventually discovered in the mouth of a *tai* fish, which Hoho was told to hand over with averted face after spitting twice. Meanwhile Hoho married the Princess and lived with her for three years. Then he became homesick and returned to the world, where he built a parturition house for his wife, thatched with cormorant's feathers. She came riding on a tortoise, and begged him not to look at her, but he did, and found she was a monster eight fathoms long. She was disgusted [as probably he was], and returned to her father. Her child was brought up by the ugly Aunt, and this child was the father of Jimmu, who is officially regarded as the first of the Mikados of Japan.

Upon the *märchen* of Uráshima are founded a *Nô no utahi*, or religious mediaeval drama, and a modern opera, both so named. In the *Nô*, Uráshima has become a god, he has a shrine at a place called Midzunoye, of which the Mikado has heard, and sends an envoy to report upon it; to him the story, or rather part of the story is suggested rather than told, and he returns, after having been honoured by the presence of the god Uráshima, the king of the sea.

dragons, the five-hued tortoise, and an angel from Hôrai (perhaps the sea-nymph whom Uráshima loved and fatally disobeyed). He also seems to bring back with him a portion of the Elixir of Life. The piece is vague and shadowy, almost incapable of definite translation; but it possesses a certain dreamy charm not uncommon in these unique mediaeval miracle-dramas.

The opera, quite a recent production, is a much more elaborate performance.

The story follows the legend pretty closely, but Uráshima, who becomes a god in the Nô, finally resumes his youth as a mortal in the opera, the closing lines of which may be thus rendered:—

Shineth the sun's light ever,
quit we the sun's light never,
never—and ever
charmed by the land etern
let us to earth return,
Hôrai in this world find we,
this world in Hôrai mind we!¹

¹ Translations of the lay of Uráshima have been published by Dr. Aston, Prof. Chamberlain, and Dr. Karl Florenz, all of which have been consulted.

106

On a Lady crossing a Bridge alone.

<p>A Lady see I across yon red bridge tripping that beareth o'er swift Kata-ásuha's river, her smock of scarlet behind her trailing daint'ly, and dark-blue mantle</p>	<p>upon her shoulders wear- ing as all so lonely across the bridge she trippeth— I wonder whether some lustie swain she loveth,</p>
--	---

or still unmated	but know not where her
like single acorn ¹ pineth,	home-place,
and fain would ask	nor where she bides in
her,	beauty.

¹ The acorn, a single kernel, is symbolic of spinsterhood ; the chestnut, often double, of married life. The lay is anonymous.

107

On the occasion of the Court going to Nániha.¹

Nigh Tátsuta's hill,	oh, tender blossoms
where ever white clouds	yet bide awhile, beseech
hover,	you,
on Wókura's steep	nor fall nor scatter
o'er swirling waters	until my lord cross Tátsuta
rising ² ,	towards City-Royal,
the cherry blossoms	rough grassy couch
do all their pride display,	affronting,
but high the hills are	oh, blossoms bide to cheer
and ever the gales are	him!
blowing,	—
and the rains are falling,	Ere seven days gone
and the tree-top blossoms	I fare to City-Royal
lie scattered, blown, and	oh, god of Tátsuta,
withered,	the winds who rulest,
but the under-flowers	spare
are on the sprays still	the blossoms spare, I pray
hanging—	thee.

¹ In 3 Keiun (707) from Fujihara on the occasion of a Royal Progress of the Mikado Mommu. The *taifu*, *daibu*, or *taiyu-mahetsukimi* in old Japanese—were heads of departments. They had been sent to Nániha in the third—*yayoi* or growing

month—to prepare for the reception of the Court. The friend of the poet (who is unknown) is one of them, and the poet's wish is that some of the cherry blossoms, at least, may remain to cheer his friend on the homeward journey. Or does *kimi* in the text simply refer to the return of the Court, as in lay 108.

² Of the Tâtsuta river. Or simply, Tagi no he.

108

A second Lay on the Cherry blooms of Tâtsuta.

As even latens,	to flower filling
across the hill of Tâtsuta,	upon this spray or that
white-clouded Tâtsuta,	spray,
I wend my way and	may they not wither ²
notice	unseen those coming blos-
the cherry blossoms	soms,
by Tagi ¹ blown and	for soon, belike,
scattered,	my Lord and Sovran
but buds unblown still	journeyeth
upon the sprays I see there	by Tâtsuta's hill to Nâniha.

¹ Tagi no he (above the rapids) is in Yamato.

² The translation follows the explanation given in the Kogi, which would interpolate this verse as missing.

109

Lines on returning from Nâniha after a night's
stay there.

But yesterday	mid islands there fast
along the slopes I jour-	floweth,
neyed	but one night spent I
o'erhang the river ¹	in wave-worn Nâniha,

yet from the hill-side	blow not ye storm-
the cherry blossoms saw I	winds,
adown the river	I pray at the wind god's
by the swirl of waters	shrine
carried—	blow not awhile, ye storm-
oh, till my lord	winds! ²
his eyes feast on the	
blossoms	

¹ Keichiu thinks *shima yama* in the text was the name of a hill on the Nara road. I have included the Kogi view in the first four lines of the translation.

² This lay must be read with the two preceding ones. The translation, in this as in lays 107 and 108, follows the indications given in the Kogi.

BOOK IX, PART II

110

On ascending Mount 'Tsukuba with the Kenzeishi ¹
Ohotomo no Kyô.

I longed to climb	and shrilly sighing, breath-
the twin-peaks of Tsuku-	ing,
bane	until the twin-peaks
in wide Hitachi	I showed my lord ³ there
—of long sleeve folds that	rising,
mindeth— ²	and welcome gave us
what time my lord came,	the god who one peak
and through the heats	holdeth,
together,	the goddess blessed us
with sweaty toil,	whose seat is on the other,
with many a pant we	while high Tsukubane,
clomb,	where oft in sudden wise
the tree-roots grasp-	the clouds collecting
ing,	in showers of rain dissolve,

shone bright in sun-	nor deeper could our joy
light ⁴	be
and all the land, oft misty,	in pleasant spring-time
revealed its beauty,	when flow'rs are gay
so filled with joy our	and birds are singing,
hearts were,	for rank and thick
our girdles loosed we,	though grew the summer
and at our ease we lay	jungle
there	all the wide land's beauty
as though in chamber,	saw we. ⁵

¹ Of the Kenzeishi, tax commissioner, nothing is clearly known. More than one Ohotomo no Kyô is mentioned in the Anthology. We are told, however, elsewhere, that he may have been Takahashi no Murazhi Mushimaro who remained in Hitachi after the expiration of his employment as commissioner. But there is no certainty, and the point is not worth labouring.

Tsukuba, some forty or fifty miles north of Tôkyô, is often visible from Yokohama, and shrines still exist there on either peak.

² The meaning of the m. k., of which the value is given in this line, is much disputed. See List of m. k. (Texts).

³ Ohotomo.

⁴ On this occasion the mountain put on its cheeriest look in honour of the visit.

⁵ Which the mists of spring would have hidden.

111

A Lay on the Hototogisu.¹

Among the fledglings	nor like his mother,
of the nightingale	he soareth high, and flieth
the cuckoo hath his	to the moor side,
birth—	amid the white-flow'r'd
alone is he,	bushes ² ,
nor like his father singeth,	

and with his singing	and bribe him would I
the welkin all resoundeth;	ne'er far away to fly,
the orange blossoms	but in my garden,
he rendeth as he singeth,	among the orange blos-
and all day long	soms,
his song I hearken gladly,	to sit and sing for ever.

¹ The Japanese cuckoo—*Cuculus poliocephalus*. The common cuckoo is also found (*C. canorus*). He is known as *Kakkô-dori*. The Hototogisu—the cry resembles *hut-tu-tu*—is often noisy till late at night, even through the night, in copses and bushes. He is known as *ta wosa*, rice-field inspector, because he appears about the time when the young rice is transplanted. The bird is also called *shide no tawosa* 死出 death-official. *Shide* is a corruption of *shidzu*, common, rustic. Some among many *tanka* on the bird may be given:—

Ikubaku no
ta no tsukureba ka
hototogisu
shide no tawosa no
asana sana yobu.

how many many
 rice-fields dost thou labour
 O hototogisu
 who every morning shoutest
 'here comes the rice inspector,'
 'shi-de no ta-wo-sa';

for his note is supposed to resemble the syllables of the last line.

Sanahe toru
toki ni shimo naku
hototogisu
shide no tawosa to
ube mo ifu nari.

when folk transplant
 the tender slender seedlings
 the hototogisu
 cometh singing, singing,
 'the rice-field's lord is he!'

When Ise no Nyogo (889-934) lost her child-prince, aged eight, she wrote—

Shide no yama
kahete ki tsuramu
hototogisu
koishiki hito no
uhe kataranamu.

the hill of Shide
 hast thou crossed hither
 coming
 O hototogisu!
 tell me about him, tell me,
 my child ay lost to me!

Here *shide* (*shidzu*) is confounded with the hill in Hades where the Old Woman receives the clothes of the farther

faring dead who will have no more use for them. (I owe the above to my friend Mr. Minakata.) Confer De Gubernatis' *Mythologie Zoologique*, and Brand's *Popular Antiquities*. See also lay 101.

² In the text *u no hana* (*Deutzia scabra*), a common hedge-bush in Japan.

There is a pretty envoy:—

On misty nights
when falleth rain in showers—
to hear the cuckoo,
as through the night he flieth,
how pleasant 'tis to hear!

112

A Lay on the Ascent of Mount Tsukuba.¹

With wayfare wearied	where screaming wild
and wayfare's grassy	geese
pillow ²	announced the chills of
I clomb Tsukubane	autumn,
all fain to win me solace,	and the wind the waters
and from high Tsukuba	to white waves raised on
my tired eyes let wander	Toba—
o'er the fields of Shid-	
zuku	so fair the scene was
with scattered grass-	the pains of many a day
plumes ³ matted,	of toilsome travel vanished.

¹ Anonymous. Shidzuku village and the Lake of Toba are in Hitachi, not far from Tsukuba yama.

² That is, toils and hardships of travel, very great in early Japan. The famous view (still famous) from the top of Tsukuba would console him.

³ *Wobana* (*Miscanthus sinensis*).

⁴ In Nihibari county, in the province of Hitachi.

113

Change-singing on Mount Tsukuba.¹

Above Mohakitsu ² , 'neath eagle-haunted Tsu- kuba, come sirs and dames in merry troops assem- bling, in changing ditties their blithesomeness ex- changing— with my wife thou, friend,	and I with thine will sing, so hath permitted the spirit of the mountain from time uncounted ³ on this our day of joyance; and so this day let all our looks be kindly and all our speech be friendly ⁴ .
--	---

¹ In the text *kakahi* or *kagahi* (etymology uncertain) is written with characters that mean (according to Prof. Giles' *Chinese Dict.*, No. 11071) seductive or gesture-songs, songs of the southern barbarians. It appears to be an Eastland expression, the Yamato word is *uta-gaki*, song-fence, a sort of Welsh 'penillion'. These song-fences are very ancient, they are mentioned in the *Kojiki* (K. 330), and in the *Nihongi* (N. I. 399), and afford proof of the freedom of women in early times, when, indeed, to the relations of the sexes was applicable the *trouvère's* line—

'toutes pour tous et tous pour toutes'.

² Lit. 'above the ferry of Mohakitsu'—if *tsu* here means ferry—*tsu* is perhaps the *to* of *tokoro*, place.

³ Lit. 'from the time when the mountain became the seat of a deity'. The envoy may be rendered: Around the peak of the male god (one of the two peaks of Tsukuba), though the clouds thicken and the showers fall, and drenched my vestments may be, yet fain would I again join in the dance and song there.

⁴ In the text *megushi*, which has two opposite senses, see vol. Texts. I take the passage as *megushi mo na mi so*, as preserving the parallelism with the next line.

114

A Lay on the Hart in Autumn.¹

On high Mikaki ²	and mid the mountains
that faceth Kamunabi	with hi trees thickly
in the land of Mimoro ³	studded
where the bush of autumn	his cry resoundeth
bloometh	among the hills far echo-
for his wife still longing	ing
morn's moon the hart still	as still his mate he calleth!
hateth ⁴	

¹ The stag is believed to bell for his mate in the autumn when the *hagi*, bush of autumn (*Lespedeza* or bush-clover), is in flower.

² Mt. Takechi in Yamato.

³ It is possible that Mimoro (*mi moro* = shrine), may be intended as a sort of m. k. of Kamu (*kami*) nabi.

⁴ The moon shining till daybreak was objected to by the ancient Japanese lover as counterfeiting the unwelcome dawn.

115

A Tanabata Lay.¹

Along the channel	and with the rain wind
of the river of sunbright	bloweth,
heaven	and if it bloweth
the upper waters	and with the wind rain
by a precious bridge are	raineth,
"spann'd,	with garb unwetted
'tis the lower waters	still mayest thou cross to
a boat bear floating on	me,
them,	to me by yon fine bridge
so if it raineth	cross!

¹ Invitation of one of the Tanabata god-stars to the other. See *ante*, lay 102.

•116

A Lay of Farewell addressed to Ohotomo no Kyô at
the Bridge of Kárunu in Káshima.

The bark red painted	the tall ship on the
by Káshima's ¹ headland	waters—
lieth,	who love thee thronging
that stretcheth towards	the waters edge do wish
the bay of Miyake ² ,	thee
the fine oars set are,	a prosp'rous voyage,
and now the tide full-	and roll them on the sea-
floweth,	shore
and with the even	their feet a-shuffling,
the shipmen all are sum-	rending
moned,	the air, lamenting,
and forth there glideth	as over sea thou farest
	for Unakami's haven!

¹ Káshima and Kárunu are in Hitachi, Unakami and Miyake in Shimôsa; but there was also an Unakami in Kadzusa. Ohotomo no Kyô is the Kenzei of lay 110.

² The m. k. of Miyake is untranslatable. It seems to mean a bull in some way sacred, perhaps for sacrifice (conf. *Kotoba no Idzumi*), and so applicable to Miya (shrine or palace), part of name Miyake, in the sense of the latter as a government granary. Conf. Asakawa ('Early Institutional Life of Japan'), p. 76. The various explanations in the Kogi appear far-fetched.

117

A Lay made in the Autumn of 5 Jinki (728).

The flesh's burden,	but die we, live we,
is a burden hard to bear,	we must the Sovran's
by a sad chance only	bidding
into this world we come—	obesant follow—

therefore while on this	the friend thou quit-
earth	test
thou dwell'st a mortal,	shall not forget to love thee
liege loyal to thy Sovran	how long soe'er thou'rt
thou must remain still,	absent !
whô now yon distant	
frontier	

to guard forth goest,	Towards Koshi ¹ faring,
forth goest with company	when snowy hills thou'rt
as flocks of wild-fowl	crossing
at dawn their far flight	thy friend remember,
winging	whom thou hast left
multitudinous,	behind thee,
the while in City-Royal	with love remember him !

¹ Koshi comprised the modern provinces of Etchû, Echizen, and Echigo, the three Echi. The poet's friend must do his duty, ill world as this is ; but when most he feels the hardships of the rough ways he must remember how much he is loved by him whom he leaves in City-Royal. During the pleasanter part of the journey he will be comforted by the beauties of nature.

118

A Lay made in the closing month of the first year of Tempyô (729).¹

But mortal am I	and every daybreak
and to my Lord and	my tumbled vestments
Sovran	tell me ³
owe dread obedience	much more I love thee,
wherefore in Furu's vil-	yet love thee, dear, I may
lage	not,
in Isonokami	lest folk should know it,
in wide ² Yamato's land	and all this night of
'tis loos'd my girdle,	winter
and all undoff'd, I sleep—	I yearn, unsleeping,

I long for lingering day- and fain would face to face
 break— I fain again would see
 I love thee, dear, thee !

¹ [By Kanamura ?] Mention is made in the *Zoku Nihongi* of the dispatch of a commissioner to survey the lands of the Home Provinces in the eleventh month of the 1 Tempyô (729). The author of the lay was probably in the train of the commissioner, and laments that although so near City-Royal as Furu, his duty compels him to abstain from visiting his wife, and condemns him to pass the long winter nights alone. Furu no sato ('ancient residence') is in Yamato, perhaps it was the site of some former capital. See the first of the Kokinshû quintains which follow these lays.

² In the text *Shikishima* ; *shi* (stone), *ki* (fort or earthwork), *shima* (tract) or island. Originally a place with a stone-faced fort in Yamato—such places, camps or 'tuns' are mentioned both in the Kojiki and Nihongi. At a later period *shi ki*, variously written, was confounded with *shiki*, 'spread out', 'spacious', &c., while *shima* became more restricted to one of its two meanings, 'island' and thus *Shikishima* was applied to Yamato, and finally to all Japan.

³ He has not put on night-garments but slept in his day ones. It was a special duty of the Japanese wife to keep her husband's *hakama*, *haori*, &c., clean, in good condition, and properly folded.

In the Chinese script of the text we meet with two curious instances of *kariji*, or characters used rebus-wise. In one, the syllable *i* of *i mo nezu* (cannot sleep), is written with characters signifying *i*, fifty ; in the other, the word *de* (go forth) is written with characters signifying 'upon-mountain-again-piled-mountain', because the character for *de* (*shutsu* in Japano-Chinese) resembles the character for mountain *san* in Japano-Chinese) doubled on itself vertically. Again, the character for 'one' (*hito*), is written for the character (*hito*) 'man'. Confer the section on the script of the Manyôshû in the Introduction (Texts).

119

A mother's farewell to her son on his departure from
Nániha as member of a mission to China.¹

As hart, that wooer	wherefore beads closely
of 'autumn's blossomy	threaded
bush time ² ,	of bamboo circlets,
hath one son only,	and full-fill'd jars of sake,
of one son only mother	and cloths of yufu ⁴
am I who write thee,	before the high god offer-
who far from me now	ing
fareth,	I pray for my lov'd one's
on toilsome journey ³ —	safety.

¹ In 5 Tempyô (733).

² So-called because in autumn, when the *hagi* (Lespedeza) flowers on the hill sides, the stag bells for his mate.

³ Literally, 'on grass-pillow wayfare.'

⁴ Inner bark of paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*). The Chinese characters in the text are now used to represent *momen*, cotton, which was introduced into Japan at a date much later than the Manyô age.

120

A Love-lay.¹

My love, my pearl,	but way I never
thy name must not be	may find to ease my
thridden	sorrow,
on string of language ² ,	my heart that guard-
while days pass by full	eth
many	that guardeth all my life-
I ne'er may meet thee,	ways ³
yet while the days are	now faileth me,
passing	my lips are ever trembling
my love increaseth,	with words unspoken—

my love, I would I clasped	to thee, my heart's desire,
thee	all truce of grief unknow-
as close as armlet,	ing. _____
with mine eyes looked in	By slanders parted
thine	of folk as hedge set round
that shine like mirror, ⁴	us,
as Shitahi's ⁵ hidden	how many many
waters	the days are that we
my love deep lieth,	meet not
nor may I tell it thee,	which sum to months, to
to tell it yearning	months sum.

¹ In the collection of Tánobe Sakimaro. She has to keep her love secret because of slanderers—common nuisances to lovers in Japan as elsewhere.

² *Wo*, thread or string, is seen in *tama no wo*, 'string of pearls (or gems)' = life, there being a word-play alluding to *tama shi* (precious breath), $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$. So here the expression in the text is *koto[ba] no wo*, 'string of words', one familiar to ourselves; again *iki no wo*, 'string of breathings' = life. The passage, however, is somewhat obscure, and could not be fully rendered without a paraphrase. Literally, 'cannot unravel the thread whereon words are thrird, so as to bring out thy name.'

³ The heart and liver are the two chief organs, one on either side. Hence the epithet (m. k.) of heart is here 'that lieth opposite the liver'. I have not had the courage to put 'liver' into the translation. But the word for 'liver' (*kimo*) seems anciently to have denoted any internal organ.

⁴ The Japanese mirror was (and is) of highly polished white metal.

⁵ On Shitahi hill in Settsu a god named Amatsuwani is said to have descended in the form of an eagle. He devoured men, until a hero named Kuhawo crept up a drain or underground aqueduct (*shitahi*) to his lair, and there managed to propitiate the monster. Possibly the story preserves the memory of a tarn or pool liable to overflow, to guard against which some ancient man of sense devised the *shita-hi*. *Shitahi*, again, means 'love', also *shitahi* = *shita-dohi*, secret wooing. Conf. K. App. LXXVIII.

121

A Lay made on seeing a corpse lying in the Pass of
Ashigara in Sagami.¹

Ah never more	by death on the High
will he unloose that	God's Pass
girdle	in cock-crow Eastland,
now thrice too large	he laid him down o'er-
for yonder shrunken body,	powered,
fair bleachen girdle	clad all too scant'ly
some woman's hands have	against the clime to fend
woven,	him,
who spun the hank	his tangled hair
and bleached the hempen	still black as pardanth
thread	berry
within the home fence	about him loosely
for him who lieth there—	about him loosely blow-
perchance returning,	ing—
his toil and travail over,	whence came he,
his service rendered,	where dwelt he, vain the
he thought to see his	question,
homeland,	his lips are voiceless,
his wife and children,	his service leal hath
his father and his mother,	brought him
when thus o'erta'en	to this last desolation.

¹ In Tanobe no Sakimaro's Collection. Ashigara is in the Hakone district.

122

A Lay made on passing by the tomb of the Maid of
Ashiya.¹

Upon the tomb	whom noble rivals
of the maid of Ashinoya	long years ago did woo,

I stood and gazed,
upon that stone-fenced
tomb—

to tell the story
through many an age that
men

might never cease
the maiden's lot to pity
yon tomb was builded
anigh the track there
leadeth—

from parts remote
as heaven-clouds distant

the wayfarer coming
pauseth

awhile thereby
to shed a passing tear,
• the village folk still
with sighs and lamenta-
tions

do tell the story,
and now on her grave
gazing,
in musing mood

I do the tale remember,
this old-time tale of
sorrow.

¹ From the lays of Tanobe no Sakimaro. Ashiya seems the older form of the place-name, but in later literature it is more commonly written Ashinoya.

The story of Unahi is of ancient origin, and forms the subject of two other *uta* in addition to the present—lays 125 and 250. As given in the *Yamato Monogatari* (Yamato Stories, attributed to the retired Mikado, Kwazan, i. e. Blossom-Hill, reigned 985–1008), summarized in the Kogi, it runs as follows:—

Once upon a time there lived a girl in Settsu who was sought by two suitors, one a man of the same country named Uhara (or Ubara), the other a man from Idzumi called Chinu. Both suitors were equally young and handsome, nor was it possible to detect any difference in their dispositions; they plied their suit as dusk fell and offered gifts, but in these matters also were alike; it was impossible to say which of the two was the better lover. (Confer the Wooing of the Maiden in the story of the Old Wicker-worker, *infra*.) The girl was perplexed, her parents distressed, and the situation at last became intolerable. 'If you can but choose one of them,' said the parents to their daughter, 'the other will cease his wooing.' But the girl could make no choice, and [with her parents] meanwhile retired to a curtain-enclosure on the banks of the Ikuta. There came the suitors, and the parents said to them: 'So alike are you

gentlemen in worth that our young daughter cannot choose between you, but some way or other the matter must now be settled. One of you comes a long distance from a far land, the other is of this land, but is unwearied in wooing, and we sympathize with both of you.'

The two lovers expressed their joy in respectful language.

'Now what we would say,' the parents went on, 'is this; take aim, each of you, at yonder wildfowl swimming in the river, and to the one who hits it we will give our daughter.'

'A good suggestion,' cried the lovers, and each took aim and shot his arrow. But one of them hit the bird in the head, and the other in the tail, so that the plan failed, for it could not be determined which was the better marksman of the pair.

The girl, driven wild, composed a stanza:—'Oh, I am tired of life, and I will throw myself into the river, which is no river of life for me, despite its name' (*iku* = life). Then, as the curtain-enclosure was close to the water, she let herself fall with a sudden splash into the river.

Her parents, in despair, called for help, and the two lovers jumped in after the damsel; one caught her by the arms and the other by the feet, but all three were drowned.

The father and mother of the girl were distracted with grief, and it was with many tears and lamentations that they buried her body. The parents of the lovers, hearing of the disaster, came to bury their sons, and it was arranged that one should be buried on either side of the ill-fated maiden. The country-folk, however, would not allow the Idzumi man to be buried on their soil, so his parents had to return to Idzumi and fetch therefrom a ship-load of soil wherein to bury their son. So that the maiden's grave was the middle one, and on either side were the graves of her two lovers. In one of these (the grave of Chinu) were buried the hunting gear, quiver, bow, girdle, and sword of the dead man, but in the man of Idzumi's grave nothing was buried, his parents seem to have been ignorant folk. The name given to the triple grave was *Otome no tsuka*—the maiden's tomb.

Dr. Aston, in his valuable *History of Japanese Literature*, tells us that he 'once made a pious pilgrimage to these tombs (of the maid and her wooers), which are still in existence not far from Kôbe. He was not a little surprised to find that they were immense tumuli, 'certainly the sepulchres of much more

important personages than the heroes and heroine of the above tale. Not only so, but the so-called lovers' tombs are a mile away on each side from that of the fair lady for whom they died. . . . The Ikuta river . . . now sends to the sea a volume of water about equal to that of the stream which waters the public gardens at Bournemouth.' •

It is further related that a traveller, on one occasion lodging hard by the tombs, heard to his astonishment a noise as of a violent quarrel, and presently there stood before him—he was in bed—a man covered with blood who declared he had been wounded by an enemy, and begged for the loan of a sword to avenge himself with. [This would be the lover foolishly buried without his arms.] Though much alarmed, as it was for the good purpose of revenge, the traveller lent his sword, though when he awoke the whole seemed to him to have been a dream. However, presently, the noise of fighting again began and he found that his sword was really gone. After a time the man he had seen reappeared, looking highly pleased, and exclaimed: 'Owing to your noble aid I have at last, after many years, slain my enemy.'

The traveller wanted to know more, but the dawn broke and the man vanished. The sword, which he had returned, was found covered with blood, and also blood was visible on the grave [of the Idzumi man].

The tomb of the Otome is at East Akimura village, the tomb of Chinu is on the Ikuta river, at Ohoishi is the grave of Uhara.

The motive of the story seems insufficient, perhaps, but the dilemma of the girl closely resembles that of Eustacia in Mr. Hardy's fine novel *The Return of the Native*, and is solved in a similar manner.

123

Elegy on the death of a younger brother.¹

My younger brother !	in mutual love we grew—
together children grew we	like dew of morning
in true affection	thy day hath come and
of father and of mother,	vanished,
brother and brother ²	thy place allotted

by the great gods in
council
no more doth know thee
within the spacious
boundaries
of Ashihara,
fair land of rich-eared
grain—

no more shall know thee
to distant Darkland wan-
dered,
like ivy coil
from ivied trunk far
creeping,
and we are parted,
as far as clouds in heaven
are we divided,
and as in darkness wan-
dering

am I distracted,
in pain of heart and sorrow
like wounded deer,
in woe of mind as vexèd
as tangled wattles,
as birds that plain in
spring time
my wail is ceaseless,
nor sight nor speech of
thee
may now delight me,
of day and night as dark
as pardanth berry
no difference ever know I,
but burning ever,
my heart with grief con-
sumeth
and misery unending.

¹ In the Collection of Tanobe Sakimaro. The m. k. in the text cannot be fully rendered.

² The m. k. thus imitated might be taken to mean 'as like as two chopsticks'—but we need not ascribe to the poet such an interpretation as probable because possible.

124

Elegy on the Maid of Mama.¹

In cock-crow Eastland
still folk the ancient tale
tell
of the damsel beautiful
of Mama in Kâtsushika—
on hempen mantle

a collar green she wore,
her skirt was woven
of simple stuff unbleachen,
her hair no comb knew,
her feet unshod and naked,
yet noble maiden,

in rich brocade apparell'd, no lovelier bridewere— ¹ it was a face as perfect as moon full-rounded, her smile was like a flower—	where the echo ever of breaking surf resound- eth, and while time lasteth shall men still tell the story with sorrow fresh, as though but yester morn last saw the world her face.
as moths to flame flock, as ships haste towards their haven, men sought her, eager to woo to wife the damsel, but—why, one knoweth not— few were her days to be, ² and now she lieth anigh the haven's head	On the well of Mama in the land of Kátsushika as fall my eyes, I stand in silence dream- ing of the maid who there drew water.

¹ In the Collection of Takahashi no Murazhi Mushimaro. See also lay 47.

² Self-slaughter is probably suggested; she could not make a choice, and so drowned herself—quite the right thing to do in Old Japan.

125

On Passing by the Tomb of the Maid of Unahi.

In Ashinoya dwelt the Maiden of Unahi, eight summers count- ing, and o'er her shoulders fell still her tresses parted in maiden-wise unlifted— from eyes of neighbours	in safe seclusion hidden dwelt the maiden, but fame so noised her beauty men longed to see her, and mocking her seclusion around the dwelling a fence of wooers made they,
--	--

and one of Chinu,
 one was of Unahi,
 aflame with passion
 each the other counted
 rival
 and wooed the maiden—
 of blade well-forged
 each stoutly grasped the
 hilt,
 and bore on shoulder
 full quiver, bow of white-
 wood,
 or fire or water
 to dare was ever ready,
 so fierce their rivalry—
 when thus she spoke her
 mother,
 these words she spoke,
 'A hank of common hemp-
 yarn,
 so mean a creature
 how may these noble lovers
 to win concern them,
 why live the days then
 since mate I may not,
 wherefore I will in Dark-
 land .
 await my dest'ny'—
 so spoke she, and in secret
 pined she, weeping,
 and so her life deserted—
 to him of Chinu
 that night in dream the
 damsel

appeared, and straight-
 way
 his love the lover followed,
 he of Unahi
 his eyes to heaven raised,
 defiance shouted,
 and flung him on the
 ground
 in fierce anger,
 to mortal rival vowed he
 ne'er would he yield him,
 his dagger girded on him
 and hied him wildly
 as 'twere to track the wild-
 vine
 upon the moorland—
 so parents, kindred
 of these unhappy three
 devised together,
 and that to furthest time
 the piteous story,
 to latest generations
 might not unknown be,
 midmost the wooers' tombs
 her tomb they builded,
 so resteth she between
 them,
 between her lovers—
 the tale unheard before
 to sorrow moved me,
 and sad tears flowed from
 me
 o'er a grave new-digged.

Now where she resteth its leafy branches o'er
 a tree implanted bendeth, the grave of him of
 —so folk do say— Chinu.¹

¹ In the lays of Takahashi no Murazhi Mushimaro. The story on which the lay is founded is given under lay 122. In the present lay, the rivalry of the two wooers seems to be viewed as developing into the more active hostility alluded to in the traveller's dream appended to the story. The deaths of the ill-fated trio are not stated but suggested, nor do they occur together, nor do the lovers die in attempting to save the girl. See also lay 250.

There are several m. k. of doubtful interpretation in the text, of which the value is given as far as was possible. Two only need be discussed here. One is the m. k. *utsuyufu*, applied to *komorite* (secluded), which I take to be the inner (*utsu* = *uchi*) bark of the paper-mulberry (*Broussonetia*), of which a soft-fibred cloth was made in ancient times, or *uchi* (*utsu*) may refer to beating the fibre to make it supple. The word *yufu*, however, is written with the characters for 'cotton', and the cotton fibre within the pod might therefore be taken as the source of the simile. But there is no mention (as far as I know) of cotton in the Anthology. Some commentators refer the allusion to the silk cocoon's protective enclosure of the chrysalis.

Another m. k. is the word *tokoro-tsura* (or *dzura*), applied to *tadzune* (seek). *Tokorotsura* is a species of *Dioscorea*, and as an epithet of *tadzune* (seek), illustrates the difficulty of search by reference to the slender twining stem so hard to trace to its end in the thickness of the bush or jungle. The *kadzura* or *kat-sura* (*Cercidiphyllum*) is often used as a like illustration in the *Manyōshū*. The verses 'and hied him wildly', &c., contain a poetized suggestion of the distraction and death of the second lover, who follows the favoured suitor in death.

Of a third m. k. the rendering is omitted in the line 'and in another [world]'. It is the curious compound *shizhi kushiro*. *Shizhi* or *shishi* is no doubt = *shigeki*, abundant; but *kushiro*, by some commentators, is taken to mean bracelet. But in this case the application of *shizhi-kushiro* to *yomi* seems impossible. A better interpretation turns upon the identity of *kushiro* and *kusuri* (physic), anciently used to denote *sake* or rice-beer, regarded as

a delicacy. The word would then signify some supremacy of excellence and be applicable to *yomi*, read not as *yomi*, Hades, but homophonously as *yomi*, having the same relation to *yoki*, good, as *bemi* to *beki*, able. The probability, however, is that the passage is corrupt. *Shizhi-kushiro*, with some such significance as the above, is found in an *uta* in the *Nihongi* (N. II. 10), where it is applied to *umashi*, fine, lovely, &c. Perhaps originally the word was *susu kushiro*, sake-sipped.

BOOK X, PART I

126

A Summer Lay on the Cuckoo-Bird.¹

On Kamunabi	among the piny tree-tops
by ancient City-Royal ² ,	the cuckoo singeth
where liegemen wont	for happy village listeners,
were	along the valleys
to come and go obeisant, ³	among the echoing hills
as daybreak gloweth	his note resoundeth,
the mulberry bushes ⁴	'tis deep into the night-
midmost,	time
as dusk descendeth	hisnote the cuckoocalleth.

¹ In a collection known as *Kokashiu* (Ancient Anthology).

² Asuka, the site of City-Royal at various times from the fifth to the beginning of the eighth century.

³ That is, on official duty to and from the provinces. In this and the preceding line an attempt is made to give the value of the curious epithetical preface in the text.

⁴ This bush may be *Morus alba*, or *Cornus Kousa*, or *Cudrania triloba*.

BOOK X, PART II

127

A Tanabata Lay.¹

Since Heaven above	and swirling waters,
from Earth below was	to clasp his love he pass-
parted,	eth,
across the river	his love as lissom
the further shore he	as swaying herbs in spring-
watcheth	time—
each year revolving,	and so he rideth,
for twice to meet his dear	as sailor tall ship trusteth,
in a single year	the waves he rideth,
he may not dare to hope—	and every year and each
and so when cometh	year
in each revolving year	anew the River
the night appointed	will cross to meet his
a great bark winneth he,	dear,
and stem to stern	yet ever pineth
the bark he maketh ready	the long months thro' each
to cross the River,	year
the River of Tranquil	till that month cometh
Heaven,	which full of rice-ears
and stout oars setteth,	bloometh ³ ,
and mid the bulrushes ²	and then night appointed,
when breezes murmur	the seventh night there-
that night of autumn	of—
softly,	of her ay dreaming,
across the River,	the weary months he
the whitening waves	waiteth,
affronting	ever dreaming of his dear! ⁴

¹ Seventh of seventh month, when the Herdman and

Webster stars cross the Milky Way (River of Heaven) to celebrate their yearly nuptials (Chinese).

² More strictly, 'grasses' (*Miscanthus sinensis*).

³ *fumi-tsuki* (seventh month in lunar calendar, parts of July and August), *fumi* = *ho fufumi* [rice] ear-containing.

⁴ I add a German version (A. Forke, *Blüthen chinesischer Dichtung*) of a Chinese poem on the same subject to illustrate the difference in treatment.

DER HIRT UND DIE WEBERIN.

Tief am Himmel blinkt
Hell des Hirten Stern,
Und am weissen Strom
Sitzt die Weberin fern.

Sie fährt hin und her
Mit dem Händchen fein,
Webstuhl klappert laut,
Schnell fliegt's Webschifflein.

Wenn die Arbeit sie
Abends nicht vollbracht,

Weint sie manche Thrän'
In der stillen Nacht.

Dort der Himmelsstrom
Scheint ihr klar und seicht,
Zu dem Hirten hin
Däucht der Weg ihr leicht.

Doch da fließt's heran
Und hält sie zurück.

Beide schau'n sich an
Nur mit stummen Blick!

MEICHËNG.

Another Tanabata Lay.¹

From the beginning,
when Earth and Heaven
were parted ²,
it was appointed
by sunbright heaven's own
doom
that as the course ran
of the months the months
that follow,
I might my love meet—

wherefore by Heaven's
River,
the winds of autumn
my wide sleeves blowing,
ruffling,
I wait impatient,
what way to find un-
knowing,
my heart within me
that ruleth all my being³,

my soul, too, fluttering	I watch the waters, trust-
like vestment all un-	ing
girdled ⁴ ,	Heaven's stream may flow
this night appointed	for ever.

¹ Anonymous, but perhaps by Hitómaro.

² To come together again at the end of time.

³ The value is here attempted, the curious m. k. *murakimono*, literally, 'all the livers'—applied to *kokoro*, heart. According to Motowori all the internal organs were anciently known as '*kimo*', and the sense might be simply the heart, one or chief of the crowd of organs.

⁴ See *tokikinuno*, List of m. k. (Texts).

BOOK XIII¹, PART I

129

From clutch of winter	mists up the hills are
now 'scapeth spring in	creeping,
gladness,	the tree-tops under
and every morrow	by Hátsuse all the night
dew on the leaves is	through
sparkling	blithe nightingale he
and every even	singeth !

¹ All the lays in this book are anonymous and lack *dai* (Arguments). Many of the best lays in the Anthology² are here found.

130

O Hill of Mimoro ¹ ,	with flaming - flowered
a joy to men for ever,	camellia
whose slopes are hidden	e'en children's tears are
in wealth of ashibi ² blossom	dried
whose heights are ruddy	are dried at sight of
	Mimoro.

¹ Mt. Kamunabi, near the ancient capital Asuka, seems to be intended. The word *mimoro* originally signified sacred cave or home or shrine, afterwards confounded with *mi* (see, or the honour-word *mi*) and *moru*, watch. But Japanese etymologies, it cannot be too often repeated, are extremely delusive.

² *Andromeda japonica*, Thunb.

131

The sun is hidden	with tints of autumn
amid the mists of heaven,	is glowing and there I put
the long-moon month ¹	forth
is dim with rainy showers,	my arm enringed ⁵
the scream of wild	with bracelets of tinkling
geese	bells,
the air fills pleasantly—	a feeble woman
nigh Kamunabi—	my arm put forth and bend
mid the domain-land royal	the red sprays toward
a watch-hut standeth ² ,	me,
within the fence a dike	and break a leafy branch
a pond surroundeth,	off
and on the dike tall	and bear away
trunks rise,	the spray I bear away
full half a hundred ³	to deck thy head, my
of holy elms ⁴ , whose	lord!
leafery	

¹ The 'long-moon month' is the ninth, the month of harvest, or hunters' moon month (parts of October and November).

² To guard the crops of glebelands or government lands.

³ Lit. 'less than a hundred'—a sort of m. k.

⁴ *i-tsuki* = *imi tsuki* (*Zelkova acuminata*). In N. II. 389 we read, '213 Yemishi [aboriginal Ainus] men and women were entertained under the tsuki tree west of the temple of Asuka.' Kamunabi is near Asuka.

⁵ This and the next line give the value of a m. k. which actually applies only to *ta* (arm) of *tawayame*, feeble, weak.

132

In Hátuse's waters	be it so even
(O hill-engirdled Hátuse)	no beach for boats there
is ever mirrored	offereth,
the brightness of the	be it so even
clouds—	no shore for angling offer-
no kind bay hath it	eth,
that fishermen ne'er beach	yet from the deeps
there ?	ye angling fishers' oar
nor shoresands welcome	oar in, in rivalry ! ¹
that never anglers fish	
there ?	

¹ I take the meaning to be that despite the absence of opportunity for successful fishing, such as the sea and its coasts offer, the attractions of the clear river of Hátuse are worth a visit. Hátuse (modern Hase) is not far south of Nara.

133

Within the Reedland	in time of autumn
of ripe abundant ears,	are all the woods dyed
on Mimoro,	russet
high hill of Kamunabi,	on Kamunabi
were offerings made ¹	where Mimoro's hill is
from the days when the	girdled
god from Heaven	by Asuka's torrent,
on the land descended,	and every night in vision,
from the days of the	until the peak
thousand gods	grow green with mossy
the myriad gods	verdure
as men have ever	scarce rock sustaineth ² ,
in every age related—	the welfare be revealed ³
	of land and Sovran
in time of spring there	while ever fine glaives
the mists coil creeping	be offered
upwards,	to Mimoro's god exalted ⁴ .

¹ The god was Kayanarumi no mikoto.

² A common poetic phrase denoting length of time.

³ Literally, 'show the way of realizing their wishes.'

⁴ A practice dating from the reign of the Mikado Suinin (B.C. 29—A.D. 70). In N. I. 178 we read: 'The department of worship was instructed to ascertain by divination what weapons would be lucky as offerings to the gods. So bows, arrows, and cross-bows were offered' [slightly abbreviated].

134

With pious offerings	at country palace resting,
from Nara City-Royal,	and as our feet tread
by Hodzumi,	Yóshinu we remember
where sallet herbs grow,	how loved our Sovrans
wend we ¹ ,	Yóshinu ¹ .
pass Sákate,	
where fowlers spread their	The months and days
nets,	they come and go, for
to Kamunabi,	ever,
where echoing waters roar,	but long endure
and there our Sovran,	anigh the Hill of Mimoro
to break his fast, we offer	our Sovran's country
fine fare and royal,	palace!

¹ Or I. The lay is a sort of *kaidō kudari*. The m. k. here (*midzutade*) can scarcely be translated. It may signify a salad-herb (*Polygonum flaccidum*?) or a condiment herb (a kind of water-pepper), or *tade* may be *taderu*, steeped, sodden. The m. k. in this lay are applied to parts only of the place-names, and not really therefore to the places themselves. But they suggest their application to those places.

135

Amid the <i>hi</i> trees	my stout axe plying
crowd Nifu's wooded	I hew the trunks and
slopes	bind them

in raft together,
 and ship me sculls and
 oar me
 adown the river
 'mong rocks and islands
 winding,
 unsated gazing
 on Yóshinu, rejoicing
 in the white waves' mur-
 muring music—

Fair Yóshinu's waters
 adown the valley roaring
 in swirl of waves white-
 crested—
 would she were here
 who stayeth in City-
 Royal
 to gaze on the whitening
 waters! ¹

¹ He wishes his wife were with him to enjoy the beauty of the scene. This envoy is a *sedoka*; the last three lines are the poetic answer to the first three.

136

O Land of Ise ¹!
 within our Sovran's realm
 who ruleth ever
 in peacefulness his people,
 descendant glorious
 of the high-shiningsun ²—

O Land that giveth
 to royalty sustenance,
 where ay the spirit
 of the mighty gods doth
 breathe,
 how lofty, noble,
 are thy great hills to gaze
 on,
 how bright and clear
 are thy running streams
 to look on,
 how rich in havens

are thy broad seas to
 sweep o'er
 with eyes delighted,
 and how thy islands soar
 high o'er the waves
 soar!

or far or near one gazeth
 'tis fair to eye,
 to eye and heart 'tis fair—
 with dread and rever-
 ence

I dare these words to
 utter,
 the royal palace
 on Ishi's plain by Yámabe ¹
 built by his servants
 I dare to celebrate,
 the stately palace

in the sun of noon that
 gloweth,
 in the setting sun
 how fair the palaceshine,
 'tis fair to eye
 to eye and heart 'tis fair—
 when cometh spring
 time
 how the hills there wave
 with blossom,

in time of autumn
 what wealth of tints they
 furnish,
 and all the servants
 of the stately palace pray,
 while earth and heaven,
 while sun and moon shall
 last,
 this happy time endure!

¹ In Ise. The poet Akáhito had a house here. The plain of Ishi is said to derive its name from a stone or menhir that stood there, near which in later times a temple was erected to Yakushi Nyorai. The author of the lay is unknown.

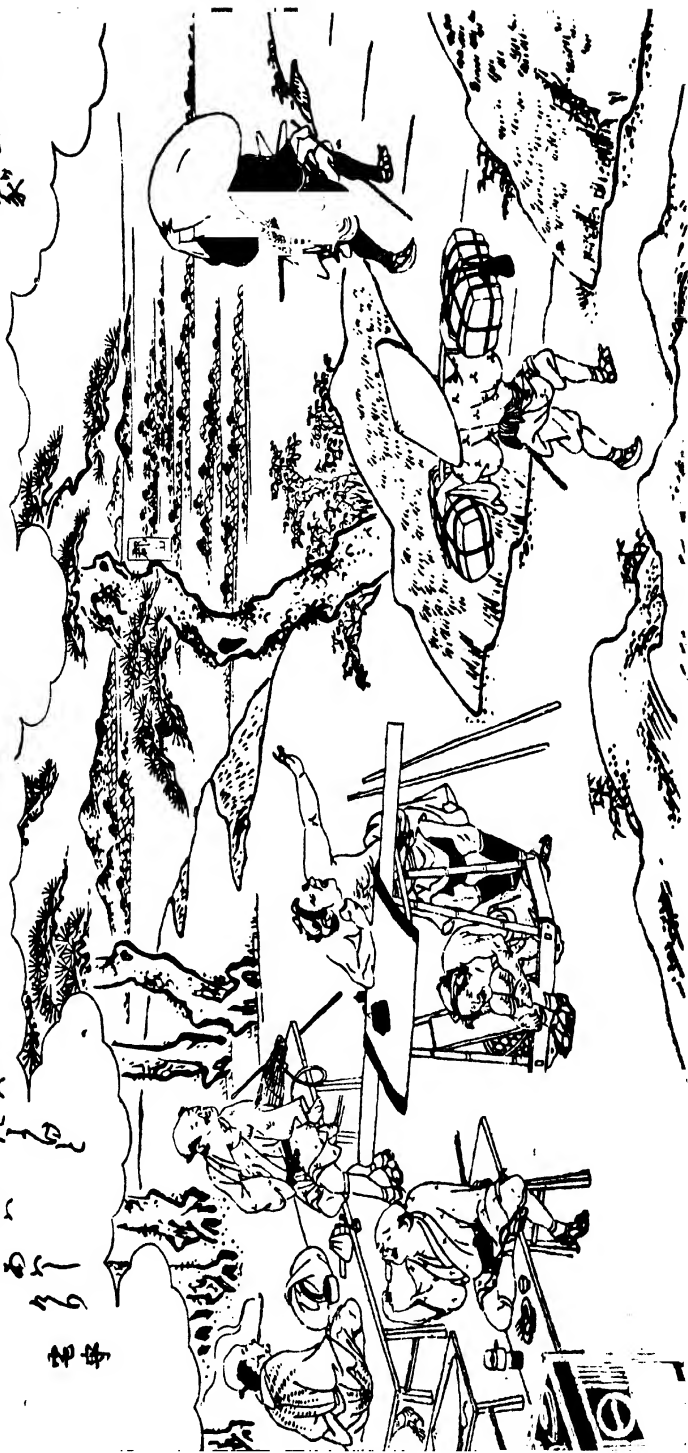
² It may be that these introductory lines—almost a common form in the Anthology—ought to be read as referring not to the reigning Sovran, but to the line of Mikados. The vagueness of the Japanese language as to number answered to a similar vagueness or generalization in the poet's mind.

137

The Pass of Nara
 —with oak trees ever
 green ¹—
 midmost Yamato,
 where the hills the high
 skies pierce, "
 I climb and wend me
 towards Ihata's grove—
 for years a thousand
 with never break or fail,
 for a myriad ages
 may men still make that
 journey,

by Tsutsuki's moor
 in the land of Yamashiro,
 by Uji's ferry
 of fierce gods the seat ²,
 by Agone's waste
 anigh Taginoya,
 to the holy grove
 of Ihata in Yamashina,
 where the great god
 dwelleth
 for whom right offerings
 bearing
 now climb I high Ozaka.

家々
 女
 酒
 若
 娘
 殿



万
 母
 若
 娘
 殿
 家
 々
 女
 酒
 若
 娘
 殿

A Wayside Sake-booth on the Bannya Road, Pass of Nara.
 Kago bearers and their fares are resting, while a gentleman, followed by his servant, begins to climb the pass. He is, apparently, enjoying the beauties of the scene, to which possibly some of the other figures are calling his attention.

The stanza is a *tanka* from the *Manyōshū*.

<i>Awoniyoshi</i>	'Tis fair to fare by
<i>Nara no ohoji ha</i>	the road to well-laid Nara.
<i>yuki yokedo</i>	on mountain track yet
<i>kono yama michi ha</i>	hast thou met me, and I too,
<i>yuki ahashi keri.</i>	I too have met thee there!
(Takamori.)	

There may be an allusion to the fact or desirability of meeting a lover or mistress.

A wayfaring lay. One of the modes of rendering the m. k. *awoniyoshi*, preserving at least *awo* (green) and its applicability to *nara* (oak-tree).

² The curious m. k. *chihayaburu* (*ichi* or *uchi hayaburu*), applied to Uji, seems a mere phonetic jingle, *chi* for *uchi* = (with *niyori*) Uji, but otherwise applied (to *kami*, &c.), it seems to mean 'swift brandish', 'violent', 'fierce', &c. There are several obscurities in this lay, the precise object of which is not known, though Okabe conjectures a motive. The general sense is praise of the shrine at Ihata, with an expression of hope that men will continue to frequent it. The value is not given of all the word-plays.

138

Of green-oaked Nara ¹	—where	tryst	fond
the pass I climb and fare		lovers ⁵ —	
toward Uji's ferry,	along	whose	wave-worn
—of warrior lineage mind-		strand	
ing ² —		by ways	uncertain
in my hand bearing	my	secret	footsteps
due offerings to the god, ³		me	
o'er Maid-meet ⁴ hill	to	meet	thee, dear, long-
toward Omi's lake I haste		ing!	
me,			

¹ See preceding lay.

² The m. k. is *mononofu*, lit. 'warriors' = men of gentle birth, applied to Uji, the homonym of which signifies a *gens*, or family.

³ Lit., meeting-pass hill, Afusaka yama. Confer lay 137.

⁴ There is a herb called *tamuke gusa*, a species of Chenopod, *Suaeda glauca*, Bunge, but this is not specially meant here. A commoner name is *hamamatsu*, 'shore-pine'. Keichiu says it was usual to make an offering to the gods for safe journey at Afusaka (Ôsaka) yama, the first stage on the Tōkaidō after traversing the *Kinai* (Home Provinces). Here *tamuke gusa* probably means various offerings only. The values of the m. k. are incorporated partly in the translation; in the text they are mere epithets.

⁵ Giving the value of the line *wagimoko ni*.

139

Wide Ômi's waters	doth hide a grossbeak ²
boast many a spacious	fledgling,
haven	the lower leafage
and islands many	a tender hawfinch ³ hold-
in lofty capes there tower,	eth
on every headland ¹	to trap their father,
bloom' orange bushes	and eke to trap their
brightly,	mother,
whose upper branches	they sit unknowing
the fowler hath well	the fowler's dire purpose,
limed,	yon pair of tender fledg-
the middle greenery	lings !

¹ So in text, *yaso shima no saki-zaki*, but we may, perhaps, take part of this sentence as a sort of m. k., and one *saki* (cape) only intended.

² *Ikâruga*—the Japanese hawfinch.

³ *Shime*—the common hawfinch.

The lay is said to have been sent by an *omi* (minister) of the Mikado Temmu to warn his sons, the Princes Takechi and Ohodzu, of the designs entertained by Prince Ohotomo against their father, of which they were ignorant, and for which they were to be used as decoys. In N. I. 156 we find the following song: 'Ah Prince | unaware that some are stealthily | preparing to sever | the thread of thy life | thou art careless as a woman.' These words, sung by a girl, were overheard by an aunt of the Mikado (Sujin) and interpreted by her as a warning to avert her nephew's murder. Compare as to diction, &c., K. App. XLIII.

140

In meet obeisance	next Idzumi's torrent
to my dread Lord and	with right-wood timbers ¹
Sovran	wealthy
I climb high Nara	I pole across
unsated with its beauty,	so Uji's ferry reach,

and mind me there
of the great swift-brand-
ishing gods ²

as the swirling waters
that roar adown the land
I cross, and straightway
upon the track to Ômi

Ôzaka climb,
and there with offerings
due pray

that me the god
Cape Kara in Shiga land ³
again to gaze on

will of his grace vouch-
safe me,

—O wave-lapped Shiga ⁴—
thence fare and halt me,
at every road-turn halt
me

of the way still winding,

upon the scene retreating
to gaze with sorrow
as drags the lengthening
path,

and the mountain passes
more toilsome prove and
steeper,

to high Ikako ⁵,
my weary feet now bring
me

my journey's end un-
knowing.

Of earth and heaven
the gods I pray with tears
good fortune grant me,
that I once more may
gaze on

Cape Kara in the land of
Shiga ⁶

¹ *hinoki* (*Chamaecyparis obtusa*).

² *chihayaburu*, see lay 137.

³ There is a repetitive jingle here. *Shiga no Karasaki sakiku araba*, as well as a play upon the name Kara, the homophon of which, *kara*, means 'bitter'.

⁴ For the m. k. here (*sasanamino*) see List m. k. (Texts).

⁵ In the text a two-verse m. k. is applied by a disgraceful word-play to the place-name *Ikako*, taken as *i-kaku*, to attack.

⁶ The occasion of the lay and envoy is said to be the unjust banishment of Hôdzumi no Asomi to Sado in the *nengo* Tempyô (729-49).

141

Nigh Kúguri's miya ¹	but Okiso ³ riseth,
in Minu's wide-famed land	and Minu's ³ hill tooriseth,
a village lieth	the way to bar me,
where a most fair damsel	nor foot nor hand may
dwelleth ² ,	help me ⁴
so rumour hath it,	such barriers cruel
and many a month and	to overcome, alas!—
day	for heartless things are
I fain would haste me	both these monstrous
to gaze on that fair	mountains,
damsel—	both Okiso and Minu!

¹ See (N. I. 190). The palace of the Mikado Keiko (71–130).

² This is what is meant by the text—literally, 'village most desirable to visit.'

³ Mt. Okiso and Mt. Minu (i. e. Naka yama) are both in Mino.

⁴ i. e. nothing he can do will affect the hills, bend them to his will or remove them from his path.

142

Upon the shore-sands ¹	the waves break on the
of Nágato's ² narrow	sea-strand,
waters	for so my heart e'er
in the calm of morning	for love of thee, dear,
the flowing tide 'high	beateth
riseth,	as I do wend me
in the calm of evening	my heart with thoughts
the waves break softly	of love filled
there,	to Ago's ³ waters,
may so for ever	and there the fisher-maids
the waters of the tide flow,	watch
and ever rippling	the sea-wrack gathering

by yonder shore sands under the sea-borne
 floating, breezes—
 their bright scarfs drift- and as I gaze on
 ing, the pretty scene, my heart,
 their armlets lightly my heart it turns to thee,
 tinkling, dear! ⁴
 their white sleeves
 fluttering

¹ The first three lines of the text form an untranslatable m. k. preface to Nagato. Naga = long, the m. k. means 'as-a-ball-of-yarn-in-a-basket (long)'.

² In the province Agi (Western Japan).

³ Probably the same as Nago in Settsu.

⁴ Whom he has left at City-Royal. The uta is by some official sent on service to the West.

143

Be high for ever the moon-lord's ² manna
 the Ladder of the skies, gather,
 and soar for ever and humbly offer
 the peaks of the lofty my lord that rare elixir
 hills! ¹ from age and death to
 that I may gather, fend him. ³

¹ That the skies may be the more easily reached from earth. It was down this ladder that the gods descended to the Reed-land. It was upon Takachiho (Kirishima yama in Hiuga), with the help of the ladder, that Ninigi-no-mikoto—his name is four times as long—descended from Heaven (K. 111).

² See (N. I. 18, 28, 32, 39). Nothing is said in the Nihongi about the moon-god's possession of an elixir. But in the story of Taketori (see *infra*) the elixir is brought down from the moon by the company of angels, who descend to bear away the Lady of Light. The myth is of Chinese (perhaps Taoist) origin. So in Macbeth,

'upon the corner of the moon
 there hangs a vaporous drop profound.'

The moon-god was born of the washings of the right eye of Izanagi (K. 43). See also the story of Susa no wo in K. and N., and in Aston's *Shintô*.

³ More lit. 'to bring him back to youth.'

144

In deepest depth	oh, would that I might
of Nuna's ¹ river lieth	win it,
life's talisman,	for now, alas,
	old my dear lord groweth !

¹ Nuna's river is Nuna's fount in the middle of the bed of the River of Heaven. In the story of the Divine Age (see *Kojiki*) it is written Nuna-wi (= Nu no wi) or Ma na wi (Right or True or Excellent Well or Source). *Nu* is the precious material of which the spear used by Izanagi and Izanami was made. See (F. I. 13 *nu-boko*).

145

In wide Yamato	my lord as the young
are many the men that	herbs comely ² ,
dwell,	and what my love is
but all my thoughts	shall I ever hope to prove
like	him—
flowers of festoon'd fuji ¹	I long for the dawn too
about my lord hang,	tardy

¹ The Wistaria.

² The m. k. *wakakusa*.

146

Akitsushima,	for the gods of earth and
O Land of great Yamato,	heaven
a Land divine 'tis,	know not belike
wherefore no word is	what woe my heart op-
needed,	presseth—
yet must I speak,	as the moon's bright orb

its nightly course pursu-	as polished mirrors shin-
eth,	ing,
and the shining days	shall meet, no surcease
the shining days succeed,	of love's sad pain can I
oh, with what sadness	or truce of sorrow know.
my heart is ever burden'd,	—
what longings ever	As shipman trusteth
make wearier my soul !	to his tall ship I trust still
if I ne'er meet him	to meet thee dear—
my days will cease to be,	yea, constant my heart
yet all my life long,	hopeth
with all my heart I love	mine still shall be that
him,	fortune. ¹
and till our eyes	

¹ Of this somewhat difficult lay and envoy the meaning seems to be that the lady, separated from her lover, despite the divine nature of the land, fears the gods will not pity her case and bring about a meeting with him, yet declares hope in the envoy.

147 ¹

O Land of Reed-Plains,	and I as often meet thee
fair Land of Rich Ripe	as wave on shore
Ears,	breaks,
O land divine	as break the wayes in
in need of word that	myriads
stands not—	upon the shoresands
yet must I speak	so oft such 'prayer shall
and pray that thou may'st	mine be,
prosper,	so oft such boon imploring.
thy days unvexed be,	.

¹ In the Lays of Hitómaro ; compare the preceding lay. The subject is a girl, for the time, separated from her lover.

148¹

From the beginning	as weak as dry rush-haulm
the world hath ever said	is
that never lovers	my heart's infected,
may peace of mind enjoy,	and anxious fears oppress
this thought-thread ever	me,
hath through the ages run	for I do perish
yet the heart of woman	with the love I must from
unfathom'd still shall	men hide
man e'er	my very life-thread snap-
know what it hold-	ping.
eth!— ²	

¹ A variation of the well-worn theme,
 souvent femme varie
 fol est qui s'y fie.

² Two lines appear to have been lost here containing the word 'sea' (*umi*) to which a m. k. is attached, otherwise without meaning. See List m. k. *natsusobiku*. Here, as in most cases, the value of mere epithets is suggested in the translation.

149

Years come and go	its ball immured,
but never a word to me	in gloom my days must
doth any runner	pass,
his emblem bearing bring	nor tell to any
me,	the love that doth con-
the while spring cometh,	sume me,
long days of misty spring,	and pine for ever
and earth and heaven	as ever the pine winds
are filled with my love	murmur—
for thee,	each day and every
while I secluded,	when the sun that circleth
like chrysalis within	heaven

to rest declineth	Did we not love,
my shining sleeves are	not love each other thus,
drench'd	our vows exchanging—
are drench'd with constant	unloving me thou would'st
tears	• be
————	as cloud in heaven in-
	diff'rent.

150

Fount of Ayuchi	so I too, still
midmost Wohárida! ¹	do love thee, love, with
ne'er folk have ceas'd	love
to draw those limpid	unknowing pause for
waters,	ever!
for countless ages	
those waters sweet to	
drink—	

¹ Wohárida is in Owari (Wohari).

151¹

By Hátsuse's river	a right fair jewel, my
Hátsuse hill-engirdled,	dear,
by the upper waters	in homeland were she,
a stout post ² deep I drive,	a mirror-bright maiden,
by the lower waters	were she
a right stout post I drive,	to homeland would I
and shining mirror	haste me but there she
upon the one post hang I,	bides not—
upon the other,	for whom should I now
a right fair beadlace hang I,	haste me. ³
a right fair jewel	• ———
art thou, my dear, to me,	
as bright as mirror	The world for me is
I think my love to be—	for me but misery,

forth from my dwelling	men may far from their
to fare, what profit were it	love live,
but to turn me home-	so rumour hath it,
wards wretched.	but I, what space may I
	live
	away from thee, dear, live!

Twelve months, twelve
months

¹ This somewhat obscure lay is found also in the *Kojiki* (K. 303, 361). The story there told is as follows (K. 296 sqq):

'After the decease of the Heavenly Sovereign (the Mikado Ingyô, 412-53) it was settled that King Karu of Kinashi should rule the Sun's succession. But in the interval before his accession he debauched his younger sister, the Great Lady of Karu . . . therefore all the officials and the great people of the Empire turned against [him] and towards the August Child Anaho. Then . . . Karu fled to the house of a Grandee . . . thereupon Anaho raised an army and beleaguered the house.' Finally, the Grandee, tired of his dangerous guest, 'secured Prince Karu, and led him forth, and presented him [to Prince Anaho]. . . . So Prince Karu was banished to the Hot Waters of Iyo. . . . Queen Sotohoshi . . . being unable to restrain her love . . . went after him. So when . . . she reached [where Prince Karu was] pensively waiting, he sang [a song], and again he sang' the present lay. 'Having thus sung, they forthwith killed themselves together.'

² What the meaning of the posts or piles driven in by the Prince may be, it is not easy to say. In Korea devil-posts are common, and may have some affinity with these offering-posts of ancient Japan. So too, may the 'yenawo' of the Ainu tribes in Yezo. (See *The Ainu of Japan*, by Rev. J. Batchelor, and my translation of a Native Diary in Karafuto, *Transactions Japan Society*).

³ The translation differs somewhat from that given in Mr. Chamberlain's *Kojiki* (p. 303). I take 'ari' to refer to the poet's 'imo's' continued residence (or existence?) in the land, but in lieu of the reading in the *Kojiki* of the last verse—*kuni wo mo shinubame*—I adopt that of the Kogi—*taga yuwe ka yukamu*. Of the two envoys—it is doubtful whether they really

belong to the lay—the first implies that death is preferable to a vain search after his love, or it may be a Buddhist condemnation of *kwanzoku* (return to world from religious life); the second declares that he cannot exist without her, be it for ever so short a time. Both the *hanka* are elliptical, and the translations are conjectural, the sense being suggested rather than fully expressed, as is usual in Japanese poetry, ancient and modern. The meaning I give to the second envoy is that attributed to it in the Kogi.

152

In spring the cherry	my heart as yielding
show'th all its wealth of	beateth,
blossom,	and brief my days seem
in time of autumn	as morning's passing
the slopes of Kamunabi	dewdrop,
are rich with russet,	'tis sign and symbol
in Asuka's river girdling	how deep a love I bear
the sacred mountain	thee
the river tresses softly	still kept secluded from
to the swift stream	me ? ¹
yield them	

¹ She is still kept at home under her mother's wardship. There is in the text a m. k. descriptive of Kamunabi which cannot be translated. It is *umasake wo* or *sake-sweet*, and is applied to *Kamu* (*kami*), of which the homophon *kamu* means to chew, reminding one of the preparation of Polynesian *kawa* by chewing various roots.

153

Beyond the cadence	while sharp winds under
of Mimoro's Kamunabi	the misty heavens blow—
the sky is heavy	o'er wild Makami ¹
with clouds and falling	—of huge wolf-jaws re-
rain,	mind—

where wayfarer lonely
 through wind and rain he
 fareth
 to gain his homeplace,
 oh, may great Heaven
 grant him
 he reach his home well-
 prospered.²

Through the long night
 hours
 black-dark as pardanth
 berry
 I lie all wakeful,
 and think upon my lord
 faring lonely through the
 night.

¹ In this and the next line, I endeavour to give the value of the m. k. *ohokuchi* (vast-mouth), the use of which seems based upon the resemblance of Makami to *ôkami* 'wolf'. Possibly some story of a wolf-adventure on the plain of Makami may be alluded to.

² He is returning to his own home after an interview with his wife or mistress.

154

In wretched hovel
 for burning only fit,
 on ragged matting
 to useless tatters fallen,
 her arms too sordid
 with his will he enlace—
 yet all the day long
 from red dawn until dusk,

and all the night long,
 through the black and
 weary hours,
 our alcove sadly
 with my laments resound-
 eth,
 from dusk to dawn
 lamenting.¹

¹ Of this lay the explanation given in the Kogi seems the best among several, that it is the complaint of a wife (or quasi-wife) deserted for a mean creature. The traitor is not worth a thought, but nevertheless she can but lament such infidelity. Keichiu says the lay is the complaint of a lover whose mistress has given herself to a mean man.

155

The little moor¹
 where all my heart out-
 poureth
 those village fellows,
 too near, with shrine-rope²
 holy
 would fence from me,
 such rumour reacheth
 me—

what may I do,
 what way may I devise
 me²,
 my very homeplace
 hath lost its pleasantness,
 on grassy pillow
 of weary wayfarer
 I seem to rest,
 no joy I know nor peace,
 nor from my heart

may I chase this annoy,
 like wayward clouds
 I wander hither, thither,
 my thoughts disorder'd
 as brushwood sheaves in
 house-fence, .
 as thread entangled
 of tumbled hank of hemp-
 yarn
 on mat unravell'd,
 not e'en a thousandth
 of the love that me con-
 sumeth
 can other men know
 and if my love prove
 hopeless
 my life-thread will be
 severed.

¹ That is, the poet's mistress.

² The rice-straw rope hung over the portals of Shinto shrines.

The poet is disquieted at the rumour of suitors who besiege his mistress from whom he is kept away. The 'village fellows' are probably officials of like rank with the poet living near the 'little moor'. In the envoy the pains of jealous love are represented as a cause of emaciation so great that the girdle that formerly went once round his body will now encircle it thrice. The same simile is found in lay 121. .

156

Of this Lay only four verses seem really to belong to it—of the remainder part belongs to Lay 187 and part to Lay 188.

The four verses may be rendered—

rolling back the white sleeves of my dress
as in loneliness I sleep—

157

Tow'rds Yámada ¹ far'd I	know'th not where haste
—on the hills the larches	its waters,
cluster— ²	what time, I knew not,
nor word was spoken	might bring me whence
as I from my mistress ³	once more I
parted,	might greeting sleeve
my mistress fair	wave—
as coverlet well bleachen,	so, fared I like a packhorse
and as the river	along the far ways stum- bling.

¹ Something prevented his saying farewell, and he had to leave on his service in a state of misery and distraction. The lay should be read with the next—the two perhaps originally formed one—strophe and antistrophe.

² Lit. *hi no ki*, *Chamaëcyparis obtusa*—the line refers to the *yama* (hill) of the place-name Yámada. There are two Yámada, one in Yamashiro and another in Kawachi. It is also a family name.

³ The m. k. *shikitahe no* is written 'wavy clouds' in the text. It is more commonly written 'spread-thin-coverlet' or 'colour (fine)-delicate'. The Kogi, premising that it is hard to ascertain the precise value of the expression, explains *shiki* by reference to *shiku shiku*, 'repeatedly', and *tahe* (written *yuki*, snow), as 'beautiful, delicate'. The fine fabric *tahe* is explained in the *Kotoba no Idzumi* as a cloth woven from the inner bark of a tree (paper mulberry). The m. k. here is applied to

tsuma. The values of the m. k. are, here as elsewhere, as far as possible incorporated with the translation, suggestively, so to speak, rather than directly. They are essentially verbal decorations, but would convey a real meaning to the Japanese hearer.

158

Or where to turn me
or where seek help un-
knowing,

my heart o'erburden'd
with griefs that all the
world fill,

I sigh and sigh,
sighs fathom deep I sigh,
still lonely hoping

that if, perchance, our
souls love ¹

he may come to me—

and should some
traveller

upon the spear-ways stop
me,

stop me asking,

'What aileth thee?' ²
no answer dare I give

him,
my lord's name dare not

my ruddy lord's name
mention,

lest folk should know it
and know he seeketh me,
so shall I answer

'I wait the moon to see
rise o'er the hill top
where thick the larches
cluster'

so shall I answer,
who am no moon a-watch-
ing

but for my lord am long-
ing! _____

I cannot sleep
for love of thee, my lord,
where art thou, dear,
this weary night where
art thou,

I wait, but thou, thou
com'st not!

¹ Literally, 'if our souls meet (or reciprocate).'

² 'Why sigh you so deeply?'

159¹

In my stable	upon my heart she rideth ² .
a fine bay horse he	like bowman posted
champeth,	on lofty Takayama
in my stable	among the hollows
a fine black horse he	to watch the wary deer,
champeth,	so I do wait for
both coursers feed I	still wait for my lord's
and both I ride by	coming,
times—	therefore, ye dogs, be
just so my dear	silent! ³

¹ The lay seems to be defective. The first portion expresses the thoughts of a man, the second those of a woman, the link between the two is missing. Or there may have been three separate lays, whereof the middle one is lacking.

² Comp. the expression *kokoro no koma*, colt of my heart.

³ So as not to give the alarm. The dogs (or dog) must be as silent as the men set to track the deer must be. The envoy bids the dogs not to betray by their barking the visit of the lover who scrambles through the fence.

160

My lord I wait for	there peering in the mirk-
but still he cometh not,	ness,
and forth I gaze	the snow that falleth
into the night's black	hath into hard ice frozen—
darkness	..
the heavens scanning,	ah, will my lord come
full late the night hour is,	on such a night come to me,
and from the mountains	he will come surely,
rush down the stormy	though endless seem the
blasts,	hours
while on my sleeves, lo,	as coil of wild-vine,

my heart too would I com-	my lord in waking hour,
fort,	in dream that passeth
my fine sleeves gather	I surely shall see him
and set the chamberready,	ere night be lost in morn-
e'en see I not	ing.

161

This lay is almost identical with 160, of which it is little more than a replica.

162

As lovingly	around my shoulders
as rush-root clings to	hanging,
earth	and pray the high gods
I would to thee cling,	not bid me hide from thee
my dear whom I love,	the love my heart con-
and 'fore the gods,	sumeth,
the gods of earth and	for I am sick with love! ²
heaven, ¹	
full jars of sake	My mother nought
I offer, close-thrid bead-	have I told of our love,
lace	but to my lord
of bamboo circlets	in love obeisant am I
	and but his will I follow!

¹ This common expression is exactly the Greek *χρόνιοι θ' ὑπατοι*.

² The *lā** is commonly taken as the work of a man, the *hanka* as that of a woman. The word rendered 'lovingly' *nemokoro* (or *nemogoro* = *nengoro*) is partly written in the text after a curious rebuslike fashion. The characters may be taken to mean, one prostration and three salutes, referring to an ancient custom (more or less common in most lands) of hailing the moon with such a ceremony. Now *korobu* signifies to lie prostrate (there is a proverb *nana korobi ya oki*, seven

times down and eight times up—an optimistic description of the vicissitudes of life), and to the *koro* of this word we are led by those characters of the script which denote the manner of salutation of the moon.

Lay 163 is little more than a duplicate of 161, and
 Lay 164 is made up mainly of the three
 preceding lays. Cf. also Lay 169.

BOOK XIII, PART II

165

As evanescent	and I shall never
as rain-drops fallen	a moment's space forget
on leaf of lotus	thee
on 'girded Glaive Pool' ¹	until our happy meeting.
floating	
my hope to see thee,	In the beginning
for mother hath forbidden	the gods ordained our
again to meet thee,	union ² ,
but Kiyôsumi's waters	and I shall never
are not more deep	a jot fail in obeisance
than is the love I bear	to that most high decree.
thee,	

¹ A tank, so called, constructed in the time of the Mikado Ôjin (270-310), where in the reign of Jômei (629-41) an auspicious *hachisu* (lotos) appeared bearing two flowers on one stem. The drops on the broad lily-leaf may be blown away by the wind at any moment.

² In the great council held in the bed of the River of Heaven (or at Kidzuki in Idzumo) in the very beginning of the parting of Heaven and Earth. The Kogi sees an allusion to the Buddhist doctrine of *ingwa* (cause and effect—predestined events), but the reference seems to be to the assembly of the gods determining the lot of mankind in the beginning of things. Cf. Aston's *Shintô*.

166

As cling the rushes	and flights of birds are
to the wild-wood hillsides	soaring,
studded	, my lord will leave me,
with right-wood ¹ trees	but I shall love him ever
midmost exalted ² Yó-	as far he fareth,
shinu,	oh, let him not forget me,
my love too clingeth	but what words help
to my sweet lord who	me,
goeth,	where may I look for
in dread obeisance	solace ?
to his high Lord and	our parting pitiless
Sovran,	as when one strippeth ivy
to far-off march-lands	from close-clung tree-
to rule in peace the	trunk ³
people—	upon some wooded hill-
	side,
as daybreak showeth,	oh, pitiless is our parting !

¹ Timber fit for building—Cryptomeria or Chamaecyparis.

² The Mikado had a country palace in Yóshinu.

³ A conventional simile.

167

On high Mikane	and like that falling rain,
in royal Yóshinu	my love shall fail not,
rain falleth ever	for such my love is, dear,
and ever falleth snow,	nor e'er shall time be
so men aver,	I shall not love thee, love
and like that falling snow	thee,
my love shall cease not,	thyself ¹ I shall not love ! ²

¹ Compare lay 8. In the envoy added to the above as a late version of lay 8 the girl is reminded that although only a glance

was had of her, as of a passing cloud floating over the peak of snowy Mikane, not sufficient to explain his passion, yet his love went on increasing as time passed.

² In this lay—as often in other lays—every verse leads up to the last, to the *imo* (wife), to whom the lay applies as an unbroken adjectival sentence—‘thyself’ represents *imo*—thyself I shall love continuously as the rain and snow fall on Mikane.’

168 ¹

The moorland o'er—	'tis well, well is it
Miyake's sunny heath—	the mother wist it not,
his feet a pathway	'tis well, well is it
the summer jungle thoro',	the father wist it not,
I pray, win hither,	as flesh of mina ²
thro' thigh-deep thickset	jet black her tresses are,
bushes	with yufu bands,
a way be won me,	fine bands of bleachen yufu,
yet am I fair that for	her locks abundant
me,	are mingled and uplifted
for me such travail	with fine comb fixed,
my lord should dare af-	comb of Yamato box-wood
front—	my spouse, my love so
	dainty! ³

¹ The text and meaning of the concluding climax of this lay are much disputed. Some outline of the controversy will be found in the notes to the text.

The first half of the piece expresses the fear of the ‘secluded wife (mistress)’ whose family have some inkling of the lover; the latter half is the lover’s answer.

² Or dishevelled, as when waking. There are several interpretations of this passage.

³ The comb was fixed in the girl’s hair by her lover as a sort of *tabu*. When thrown down it tabued the woman from approaching the man—thus Izanagi divorced Izanami, and by a similar means kept off the female demons who at the bidding of the divorcee attempted to attack him. A like story is found in Scandinavian folk-lore. When the newly elected Saigū (Itsuki

no miya) set out for Ise, there to remain in virginity during the lifetime of the Mikado, the latter fixed a comb in her hair, which she took out on arrival at the Watarahi shrine, but carefully preserved during her lifetime. In the Diary of the Kamakura Shôguns (*Adzuma Kagami*, 'Mirror of the Eastland') is a strange story of a man who tried to annihilate the tie of blood in order to commit an outrage by throwing a comb down which the object of his violence picked up. But in the present lay no *tabu* of any kind seems intended. I owe the above to Mr. Minakata. Yamato box-wood seems to have been a famous material for combs. Combs, highly decorated, are still much prized by Japanese women.

169 ¹

If my lot be not	while night's black dark-
to meet thee, dear, ever,	ness lasteth
whom ever love I	I shall not rest,
without a moment's sur-	for such the love I bear
cease—	thee,
while daylight shineth,	I cannot live without thee!

¹ This lay is very similar to 162. In the envoy the poet declares he would rather die, but if he should continue to live it will be but a joyless life as long as his love is unrequited. There is a play upon *imo*, 'my love', and *i mo* (*nezu*), 'I cannot sleep'. In the script of the envoy, the *shi* of *shinamu* (I shall die) is written '2 × 2' which = 4 (卌) in Japano-Chinese, *shi*.

170

Across the waters	oh, fain I would
upon the further bank	some bark red-painted
I see her lingering,	find here
and full of love am	and precious oars,
wretched,	where'th to cross the
and full of mis'ry	waters
my heart no ease it	and with my love de-
knoweth—	vise! ¹

¹ Another reading names the stream—the secluded river of Hátuse. The lover has taken, it seems, his first stage on some official journey. The occasion of this lay, like those of most of the other lays contained in this book, being unknown, the version is to some extent conjectural. The plural *imora*, of *imo*, my love, is found in the text as an honour-form.

171

Love's soft impeach-	by wave-worn Nániha,
ment	their red-stained ships a
with all the strength de-	hauling,
nied I,	yet my name in men's
times and again,	mouths echoes. ¹
that fishers show a-haul-	
ing,	

¹ Of this very obscure lay only a conjectural version can be given, founded upon Motowori's explanation cited in the Kogi. See Appendix (volume of texts).

172

On Ise's shoresands—	my love for thee, my lord,
divine breath'd land of	is,
Ise—	again to see me
in the calm of morning	when passed the months
the waves roll in the deep-	and days are,
weed ¹ , .	and call me spouse eke
in the calm of evening	will not thy heart incline
roll in the fine return-	thee,
weed, .	whom I must love for
as deep as any deep-	ever!
weed	

¹ *Fukamiru* and *matamiru* are species of *Codium*, a seaweed. The couple are separated for a time, but the bond shall not

be broken by her, nor, she trusts, by him. He is to come back to her; the two *miru* are as one, *fuka* ('deep') illustrating her constancy, *mata* ('again,' or 'return,' more literally perhaps 'forked'), being symbolic of their reunion with the passage of time.

173

By Muro's bay	and is the tie
within the land of Ki	that bound us but a thread
for years a thousand	now
with her to bide unparted,	like yon sea thread-
for a myriad years,	weed,
years, months and days	to break if one but strain
I trusted,	it?—
as trusteth sailor	for village rivals
to his tall ship, I trusted—	they press around her
	striving
below the headland,	to win her from me,
midmost the blue sea	like screaming children
jutteth,	urge her,
the clear waters	and as the hunter
with morn roll in the	from white-wood bow
deep-weed,	forth speedeth
with evening stillness	of arrows twain one
the waves roll in the	would they divide us
thread-weed,	twain—
as deep my love is	oh, full of fear, am I. ¹
as any deep-weed groweth,	

¹ The explanation given in the Kogi of the lay is this: An official residing at Muro is stricken with love for a girl there, but—if the next lay be really a pendant to this—is recalled to City-Royal. He has rivals in the place who seek to win his love from him and fears disaster.

The Kogi adds, 'No one has ever yet found the key to this lay'. The latter part of the version is largely conjectural.

174

Thus spake he to me	of many - channelled
—a village neighbour was	Asuka ¹ ,
it—	and heavy-hearted
‘the man thou lovest,’	the wayfarer seemed to
thy comely swain he	be,’
fareth	so spake to me the villager.
by Kamunabi,	As lief I were
where now the leaves lie	he had not spoken to me,
scattered	nor by ill hap
of russet autumn,	had met my lord who
on a black horse riding	fareth,
fareth	my lord who fareth from
across the waters	me! ²

¹ Famous in Japanese song for its changing and devious channels. The occasion of this lay is unknown, unless, as Motowori suggests, it is a pendant to the preceding lay. In both, taken together, some commentators see an allusion to the uncertainties of life, the miseries of its many partings, and the changing ways of this world; but this is to see a good deal.

² For to hear of him only renews her grief.

175

In happy mood	with mine thy name,
along the spring ways	dear,
wandering,	the world doth ever couple,
the vernal hillsides [*]	with thine my name
with joy I contemplated,	dear,
whose bright azaleas	men-folk do ever men-
my mistress, doth out-	tion,
shine,	the wild hills even
whose cherry-blossoms	to words of men will listen,
my love excels in fair-	be not thy heart more
ness—	cruel. ¹

¹ Cf. lay 141, where the hills Okiso and Minu are entreated to yield to the prayer of the lover whom they part from his mistress. Here the girl is 'adjured not to be more hard-hearted than the hills themselves are desired to be.

176 ⁱ

So may it be, Sir,	than topmost orange
but pass must many sum-	blossom—
mers	forget me ² not,
and fall my tresses	as the river ne'er for-
o'er either shoulder flow-	getteth
ing	adown the vale to flow.
till taller am I	

¹ This lay is defective. It appears to be an answer to 175. When the girl is old enough she will respond to her lover—meanwhile let him not forget her. At the age of three or four the hair was first cut, the ends only (*fukasogi*), when it reached the shoulders it was parted in the middle (*furiwake*), after eight it was not cut. Up to *gembuku* (shaving of forelock in boys), and *kamiage* (putting the hair up in girls), boys and girls were known as *waraha* (children).

² i. e. the maid herself, who lives by the river. The last two lines of the translation are somewhat conjectural. The lay is *tatohe*, the only other one among the long lays of the Manyōshū is lay 182.

177

This Lay is a combination of 175 and 176.

178

To the land of Hát-	from clouded heaven,
suse	and down the rain hath
mid lofty hills secluded	fallen
I come a-woeing,	from lowering sky,
and thick the snow hath	while the pheasant loudly
fallen	calleth

across the moor, yet enter will I
 and the household cock to seek my love within
 shrill croweth there,
 the day betokening, wherefore I bid you
 and the mirk of night open!¹
 ' hath yielded—

¹ The lay—describing a lover's impatience after a toilsome journey to visit his mistress—though dawn has shown, enter he will,—is more or less an imitation of one contained in the Kojiki (K. App. II) attributed to the god of eight thousand (countless) spears—i. e. lord of a vast host—Yachihoko no Kami (Ohokuni nushi). The following version of what is, perhaps, the oldest example of Japanese poetry extant (yet of course having nothing like the antiquity of the events with which it is connected in the Kojiki), may be found interesting.

Of spears countless
 His Majesty the God—
 in all wide Yáshima
 he sought but found no spouse,
 in far-off Koshi
 a virtuous damsel dwelt,
 so heard the god,
 a beauteous damsel dwelt,
 so heard the god,
 so went he her well-wooing
 to woq and woo her,
 his glaive in belt still girded,
 his veil unloos'd,
 'And here I stand', quoth he,
 'her door to open,

And here I stand', quoth he,
 'her door still pushing,
 the while the owl-bird scream-
 eth
 the green hills midmost
 and the moorland pheasant
 echoeth,
 and nigh her dwelling
 the cock, too, loud he crow-
 eth!—
 'I would these birds all
 would stop scream, call and
 crow,
 these fowls too wretched
 that fill the air with rumour!'

Of the remainder of the text of the lay I can make nothing. It may mean 'this is what the swift messenger of the skies, swift as a flying stone, hath told me (K. *loc. cit.*), or in view of the envoy to lay 178, 'like a messenger, swift as a stone flying through the air, would I tell my thoughts', or, better still, reading *ishitafu* as *ishitobu* (= *ishi fumu*), 'this is what I say,

climbing the rocky hills, and swiftly mounting them to reach my love'.

The appellation *yachihoko* is credited with a signification which may be best understood after reference to those portions of the *Kojiki* which Mr. Chamberlain, with, perhaps, excessive prudery in some instances, has clothed with the decent vesture of Latin.

179

In pleasant Hátsuse,	and if my side he leaveth
a land remote secluded,	my mother knoweth
my lord his wooing	and if the house he leaveth
his wooing would he	my father knoweth—
urge—	now dark as pardanth
within our homeplace	berry
my mother sleepeth she	to-day night yieldeth
from doorway furthest,	and as we loved not must
my father sleepeth he	we
to doorway nearest—	our love still must we
	hide. ¹

¹ This lay, like the last, but in a less degree, resembles the *Kojiki* lay, of which a translation is there given in the notes.

180

That woman's lover	fine shining mirror given
a-riding on his horse	by her who nursed me,
towards Yamáshiro,	and put therewith my
Yamáshiro, land of moun-	kerchief ¹
tains,	with dragon-fly wings,
I met, and sorrow'd	and told my lord to take
my lord should go afoot—	them
and thereon musing	and bay him steed there-
until my heart was vex'd,	with.
I took my mirror,	

¹ A sort of κρήδεμνον or *rica* or scarf, or wimple. One is reminded of 'Shule Agra'—

'I sold my rock, I sold my reel,
to buy my love a sword of steel.'

181

Fine pearls to gather
they say the waves roll in
there—

my lord will wend him,
to Kii's land will wend him,
fine pearls to gather
they say the waves roll in
there,

and so hath cross'd he
Se's hill, the hill of Imo,
to Kii faring:

'Oh, when will he return
me',

I haunt the spear-ways
the ev'ning oracle ask-
ing—

'My lady sister,

the gallant thou awaitest
fine shells would gather
roll'd in by the waves of
ocean,

fine pearls would gather
the surging waves bear
in,

and so delayeth—
should he bide long, for
thee

'twill be days seven,
be few thy days of waiting
two days 'twill be,

so saith he,' saith the
oracle¹

and biddeth me be
patient.'²

¹ What is gathered from the talk of passers-by.

² Attributed to a girl whose lover is sent to Kii on some duty (from City-Royal) to whom the 'evening oracle' gives consolation, saying her lover is delayed only by gathering pearls for her. Imo and Se are both hills in Kii. *Imo-se* mean husband and wife; lit. younger sister and elder brother. Awabi pearls (Venus's ear) are meant, or beads of *awabi*—mother-of-pearl.

182

A rush too tender,
of Okinaga's Wochi
by Sanukata

within steep-hilled Tsu-
kuma—
a rush too tender

to reap for weaving hats, thou little rush of Wochi,
 a rush too tender with anxious dread thou
 to spread upon the floors— fill'st me! ¹
 O rush unreaped,

¹ The rush too young to be reaped symbolizes a young maid not yet arrived at a marriageable age. She must not therefore be disturbed—but what if some other suitor should reap the rush! The lay is a *tatohe* or exemplary lay—one of the only two *chôka* of that category, the other is lay 176.

183

<p>With awe and rever- ence I dare these words in- dite— in Fujihara fair City-Royal stately, where years unnum- ber'd lords many, princes many, have served with glad- ness their mighty Prince ex- alted— as very Heaven the Palace they regarded, and on his Highness in humble hope they leaned them, trusting that ever the under-heaven ruling like full-orbed moon my lord would the realm illumine ¹—</p>	<p>when came forth spring, my dread Lord, whose high mem'ry men's hearts ay keep would stand the pine- trees under ² that crown the brow, the brow of Uyetsuki, and view the land— when fell the showers of autumn, on the hagi bushes grew lush about his halls, their heavy bloßsoms with dewy burden bend- ing, his sad eyes lingered, and when the snows of winter . the mornings whiten'd his bow of white-wood took he,</p>
--	--

wide-rooted white-wood,
in mighty hand to bare it
the chase to follow—

a long day through of
spring time

of misty spring time
one loved to look on him,
unsated ever,
with mirror-bright eyes
unsated

with gaze on him,
and oh what stout hope
was there!

so fair a time
might last for endless
ages

when— tears but fill,
tears fill my blinded eyes,
for as I look tow'rds
my Prince's lofty shrine
with white cloths
draped,

I see the train of mourn-
ers,

gentles and servants
who serve the sunbright
palace

in whitest garb wend,
to his high rest to bear
him—

is it a vision
or real, this sad sight?
a night cloud-darkened

surroundeth me, and fail-
eth

my heart with sorrow,
as Kínohe's track I gaze
from

(green-hilled Kínohe³)
on ivied Ihare gazing

I see the mourners
my lord to his last rest
bearing,

such is my misery
I know not where to turn
me,

I mourn for him,
but nought my mourning
helpeth,

I weep for him,
but find no goal of tears,

the very pine-trees
which felt his princely
sleeve's touch

can give no answer
to any words of sorrow,
yet ever will I

lift up to yonder grove
my wistful eyes
as though to heaven I
lifted

my eyes in reverent
memory.

Upon Ihare
[the place of rocks where
ivy

abundant groweth] and of my lord bethink
a white cloud see I hover- me! ⁴
 ing

¹ Perhaps that he would attain completeness like that of the full moon, i. e. that the Miko would become Mikado.

² The m. k. here (*tohotsu hito*), read with *matsu* (pine tree) as homophonous with *matsu* (expect), suggests the feeling with which a household might await the return of its lord or some member thereof.

³ This is a poetized change of the meaning of the m. k. A truer rendering would be—of hemp-robe minding.

⁴ There are several m. k. in the *uta* of which I have not been able to incorporate the value. In the envoy a white cloud seen hovering on the peak of Ihare is wistfully suggested as emblematic of the Miko's soul. So in the *Nihongi* (N. II. 253) we have a 'first' lay made by the Queen-Regnant Saimei (Kwōgyoku 642-61) on the death of her favourite grandson Prince Takeru, at the age of eight.

On Wōmure's peak
in the land of Imaki
were drifting cloud
but seen in pure whiteness
my tears I should dry!

It is not clear of what *miko* the death was lamented in the above elegy. Possibly, as the mention of Kīnohe suggests, it may have been Prince Takechi (lay 24), in which case the author of the lay would be Hitōmaro. It is quite in his style.

184 ¹

Within the broad	our Prince, a fate so
bounds	early!—
of wide Yamato's land	who every daybreak
on Kīnohe	and every even summon'd
a lonely fane is builded,	his men who gathered,
and there secluded	like flights of birds at
in shrine remote he lieth,	daybreak,
oh, how befell him,	to do his bidding—

'tis vainly now his ser- unknowing where to turn
 vants them,
 await his words, distraught with sorrow,
 alert their stout hearts are, with tear-drench'd sleeves
 but cloud-wise drift fall'n prostrate
 they, in misery still unended!

¹ The lay (probably by Hitômaro) is an elegy on the death of Prince Takechi (lays 24 and 183). No more will he summon his men to make ready the morn for hunting or hawking.

185

My lord of Minu and well his horses
 —O grassy land of with fresh drawn draughts
 Minu— are watered—
 to west a stable why hinny they then,
 hath builded for his horses, his dappled steeds why
 to east a stable hinny?
 hath builded for his horses, well fed, well watered are
 and well his horses they!¹
 are fed with fresh cut grass,

¹ They hinny and neigh not for their food, of which they have plenty, but after their dead master. The stable to east and the stable to west denote a man of wealth able to maintain a number of horses. The envoy, which contains a curious m. k. (see text), refers to the unwonted hinnying of the steeds as a proof of their almost human feeling of regret for their master. The envoy (omitting the difficult m. k.) is subjoined:—

Yon dappled greys
 how strange their hinny soundeth!
 have they then hearts—
 thus strangely hinnying
 those dappled greys that hinny?

186

Among the folk who	under the infinite canopy
under the low white	of the clouds of heaven,
clouds dwell	are none but I to mourn
are far and wide spread,	him—
under the great blue cloud	for I alone,
dwell	belike, did love him. ¹
the land o'erhangeth,	

¹ The text of this lay is doubtful. The Kogi separates the lay from the next, to which in most editions it serves as an introduction, and reads it with lay 188. The lay was, no doubt, intended as a reproach to men who had not sufficiently honoured the memory of their lord. 'White clouds' are the lower clouds seen white against the blue expanse above them, regarded as a vast blue cloud. Such seems to be the best explanation of this difficult text.

187

All earth and heaven	shall last that sorrow,
cannot contain the grief	for years a thousand
wherewith my soul	thousand
is like to sicken, my heart	still unforgotten
to break with sorrow	this month of misery
that daily groweth as pass	shall be,
the months and days	this long-moon month
by—	when from the world he
though time there be not	'faded—
any	oh, what the misery!
grief is not with me,	I know not how to bear it;
this long-moon ¹ month his	month after month
memory	I know not how to bear
most mournful shall be,	it,
and years and years a	nor help is any,
thousand	

nor solace for me any—	the tomb's wide-built
the solemn hillways	portal
I climb and where his	I leave to weep,
shrine lieth,	and there retreat each even
morn after morn	to mourn, to mourn for
	him. ²

¹ The ninth month, when the husband died. The last portion of the text is identical with the opening of lay 156.

² It was the custom for the relatives to mourn the dead for a week at the grave itself. The tomb was built near a cliff, or was fenced in with stone, or approached by a covered passage in which—or in huts erected for the purpose—they remained during the time of mourning, which often lasted much longer than a week or eight days.

188

My jetty tresses,	like seaborne ship
as black as pearly berry,	tossed—
lie all dishevelled,	my sleepless nights of
sweet sleep I cannot win	grief,
me,	oh, I have lost their
with thoughts of sorrow	count! ¹
still to and fro I toss me	

¹ To be read with lay 186. It is a replica of the latter portion of 156.

189

In the upper waters	at their keepers' bidding
of Hâtsuse's stream se-	dive they,
cluded	in the upper waters
cormorants many	fine fish the birds are let,
dive at the keepers'	in the lower waters
bidding,	fine trout are let to
in the lower waters	swallow—

and fine my love too, a hempen mantle
 oh, would she still were, by some hap torn may yet
 with me, be deftly joined,
 but now a bowshot a bead-lace snapp'd, too,
 apart she lieth from me, • may
 and ever heavy be pieced together, '
 my heart is, full of her, but we twain, dear, thus
 with restless sorrow parted .
 my heart is ever bur- we nevermore may meet¹.
 dened—

¹ The lay is a lament on the death of a wife or mistress. The whole of the first part is merely introductory to *kuhashi* in the text—here rendered 'fine'. *kuhashi* also means 'to cause to, or let, swallow', as the cormorant is allowed to swallow and made afterwards to disgorge, his prey. For 'join', 'piece', and 'meet', the same word *afu* is used in the text.

190

Among the mountains most excellent
 of hill-engirdled Håtsuse to gaze on is the moun-
 green-wooded Osaka tain—
 stands forth a noble alas, 'tis lone and deso-
 mountain, late! ¹

¹ Cf. N. I. 346

'The mountains of Håtsuse
 they stand out—
 excellent mountains
 the mountains of Håtsuse!'

The Kogi cites the above, and assumes that it served as a model for the present lay, which is taken to have been composed in honour of some promising youth who died early and whose fate is somehow symbolized in the allusion to Osaka—possibly he was buried there.

191

The seas and mountains	but man
are seas and mountains	is but a flower-thing
ever,	that perisheth—
the high hills change-	in this passing world
less,	such mortal man is !
the seas are everlasting—	

192

In dread obeisance	while I with holy offerings
to his dread Lord and	the gods beseech
Sovran	for safe and swift home-
Yamato left he	coming—
in the Land of Rich Ripe	alas my heart !
Ears,	as leaves in autumn wither
from the haven faring,	on Tsukushi's hillsides,
Mitsu's fair haven, west-	hath faded and passed
wards,	away,
and oars unnumber'd,	my lord hath passed away.
stout oars were mann'd,	
and forthwith	
across the blue plain	Oh, false these tidings,
the tall ship maketh way—	oh, true they cannot be !
in the calm of morning	for he did promise
are heard the shouts of	his life's thread should be
sailors,	lasting—
in the evening stillness	so vow'd my lord and
the splash of oars is heard, ¹	promis'd ! ²
so fares my lord,	

¹ As the ship went on its way it would anchor every evening and start every morning.

² The husband goes to Tsukushi (in the extreme West) and dies there. The wife remains behind in City-Royal. There are several m. k. left untranslated.

193

Along the spear-ways	but bloweth not too
hath he wended, climbing	lightly,
painfully	, where toss the billows
the wooded hill steeps,	but toss they not too
and cross'd the wastes	softly,
and moorlands,	where waves incessant
the rivers waded,	the further way do bar
and reach'd the whaley	him—
sea	whom rememb'ring
at Kami passage,	the boiling waters dared
(the blest god's ferry 'tis)	he
where the wind it blow-	to cross with feet too
eth	venturous? ¹

¹ In this lay the fate of the drowned man mentioned in the next is, possibly, anticipated. For whose sake was it he rashly waded through the torrent; i. e. was he hastening home to his family?

194

Anigh the sea-flood,	in loneliness there lieth
—unheard the cries of	as were he sleeping
birds are	and of the world all care
at daybreak there ¹ —	less—
the great hills far behind	yet once have haply,
him,	have father, mother,
on sea-wrack pillowed,	'haply, .
his form unvestur'd even	his parents loved him,
by scanty mantle	and fair young wife was
with dragon-fly wings	his, .
well furnished,	but no word ever
there lieth he	again from him shall
upon the pebbly seashore	reach them,
of the whaley sea, .	his name or homeplace

'tis vain to seek, no answer a sight of sorrow,
 from those lips cometh, 'tis piteous to behold it ;
 speechless as puling in- but so the world's way is.²
 fant's—

¹ The birds that start their whirring flight on the hill-passes
 are meant.

² Compare the preceding lay.

195

A Lay by Tsuki no Omi on finding a corpse lying on
 the strand of Kamishima off the coast of Bingo.¹

Either the lay is made up of lays 193 and 194, or they
 are taken from it. The differences are merely verbal. There
 are four envoys, of which two are worth translation.

(2)

Within his home
 his household folk await
 him—
 alas, in loneliness
 the rough sea-shore em-
 bracing,
 there lieth he, stark and
 lifeless!

(3)

Upon the sea-strand
 alone in death he lieth,
 'To-day, to-day
 he'll come, he'll come,'
 she crieth—
 his wife, her woe unknow-
 ing!

¹ An error for Bitchiu, anciently Kibi no Michi no Naka
 (Midmost Abundant Millet). Kamishima is mentioned in a
 short lay (Book XV of the text) as the port whence a mission
 sailed to Shinra (Korea) [in some year not stated]. There is
 a Tsuki no Omi (or Obito) Afumi, mentioned as living in 2 Wadô
 (709), who is alluded to in Book I. The script signifies Chief
 of the Department of Taxes (*tsuki* = taxes consisting of made
 articles as distinct from natural productions), but the official
 title may have degenerated into a mere name.

196

As sailor trusteth
to his tall ship I trusted
ere this moon ended
my lord to welcome home,
and waited wistfully—
when came the sceptred
runner

and said ' Like autumn,
my lord like leaves of
autumn

hath passed away ',
such words he spoke, elu-
sive

as dancing fireflies—
the gods of earth and
heaven

with tears beseech I,
or standing or yet sitting¹
alike all hopeless,

I am as one distracted
in thick mists wan-
d'ring

in sighing fathom-deeply
through empty hours,

and there is none to tell
me

' where he be—
as clouds in heaven
my steps uncertain bear
me,

hither, thither,
like wounded deer I
wander,

and I shall die,
I know not where to seek
him,

in loneliness,
of him I love bereaved,
I can but weep and wail!

The tall reeds towards
I watch the wild geese
winging,

with every wing-beat
of my lord I do bethink
me

his shafts well-feathered
bearing!

¹ A common phrase equivalent to 'continually'. The lay is by a wife on the death of her husband—she cannot even follow him to the other world, being but a woman: in the envoy, as she watches the flight of the wild geese, she thinks of her husband as a hunter with his quiver full of arrows furnished with feathers from their wings.

197

<p>Come, children, hearken! far o'er the plain of Toba with fine pines studded your eyes send where your father his last rest taketh, as further from him, from country and from homeplace,</p>	<p>the way doth lead us— oh, gods of earth and heaven, why cruel are ye, I ask ye, why so cruel, on painful journey unhusbanded to send me and part me further from him.¹</p>
---	--

¹ The wife is returning to City-Royal from Toba in Hitachi, where her husband has died and is buried.

BOOK XV, PART I

198

<p>As even latens in the reedy bottoms whirring, as morning breaketh in the middle waters swim they, the flights of wild fowl in pairing couples throng- ing, and wings o'erlapping ward off the chilly hoar- frost with coats of feathers, those fowl that pair together, in love together—</p>	<p>as flood that passeth and cometh never back, as wind that bloweth and none see it returning, so fleeting is this traceless world of ours, whereof poor den'zens we twain are somehow parted— of wonted vestment with sleeve unmated, lonely how may I welcome sleep find!¹</p>
---	--

¹ In 8 Tempyô (736) an embassy was sent to Shiraki (part of Korea). The members composed lays and answer-lays on the hardships of parting and various other subjects, both at departure and during the voyage. Amongst these were the present *chôka* and the next, both said to have been composed during the voyage as part of a sort of album of verses. Of the author only the name is known, Tajihi no Taifu, who complains of his separation from his wife, and contrasts their position with that of the proverbial and exemplary wild-fowl who answer poetically to western turtle-doves. The lay is partly Buddhist in tone, partly an imitation of the *Shikking*. The translation is slightly abbreviated.

199 ¹

As mirror shining	across the waters
my dear each morning	our bark we row until that
holdeth	Awade's ⁴ isle
in her fair hand	(lone isle its name and
is Mitsu's ² strand, whence	loveless)
launched	we sight, and darkness
the tall ship floateth,	on cloudy sea-marge
and stout oars many are	falleth,
manned,	as night still deepeneth,
and o'er the sea-plain	our further course un-
tow'rd's distant Kara fare	knowing,
we—	Akashi ⁵ see we,
by Minume ³ oaring,	(and now my heart
that standeth o'er against	grow'th lighter
us,	in the Bay of Bright-
the tide await we,	ness),
and drift adown the fair-	as there awhile we tarry
way	and wave-rocked slum-
to open ocean,	ber—
where high the white	thence seawards gazing
waves surge,	watch I

the fisher-lasses
 from crowded boats a-row
 their lines still casting,
 and as the day grow'th
 brighter
 'and the tide 'gins flow-
 ing
 the screaming wild-fowl
 view I
 toreed-marsh hast'ning,
 and in the calm of morning
 the shouting hear
 of sailors making ready,
 and fishers launching
 their boats across the
 breakers—

the grebes, too, watch I
 swim pairing on the
 waters
 as Iheshima ⁶
 in the cloudy distance
 loometh
 (men call Home Island
 well-named me-seemed
 the island),
 and fain to comfort
 my weary heart I longed
 there swiftly faring
 upon those shores to gaze,
 but further oaring

our tall ship we affronted
 huge ocean-billows
 that rose and curled and
 toppled,
 wherefore the island
 we passed, and elsewhere
 gazed we
 as onwards fared we
 to the hollow bay of
 Tama ⁷,
 where time we tarried,
 and on the wild shore
 gazing
 my thoughts to home-
 land
 turn'd and tears fell from
 me—

there I bethought me
 awabi pearls to gather,
 such as do deck
 the sea-god's sacred arms,
 and gift-wise send them
 by runner to my home-
 place,
 but found no runner—
 wherefore 'twas vain to
 gather,
 and there unglean'd I left
 them!

¹ This lay is a sort of *kaidô kudari* or 'journey-song'—word-plays on the place-names conveying or illustrating the sentiments.

² Mitsu is in Settsu—*mi*, fine ; *tsu*, port.

³ In Settsu.

⁴ Awade (*ahade* = not meet, i. e. one's love).

⁵ In Harima. Usually written Red Rocks (*aka-ishi*), but *akashi* also means the brightening of daybreak.

⁶ In Harima; *ihe* = home, homeplace.

⁷ In Hizen; *tama*, jewel, suggests the awabi pearls mentioned below. One of the two envoys intimates that on the return home in the autumn (*wasure-gai*, forget, i. e. forget-me-not (?), shells—a kind of clam so called) will be gathered as gifts for wife and homefolk.

BOOK XV, PART II

200

Elegy on the Death of Yukino Murazhi Yakamori.¹

My lord my brother,	month after month ago
towards Tsukushi, Kara	is,
fronting,	to-day, to-morrow,
the furthest frontier	'oh! will he come?' his
of our dread Sovereign's	housefolk
realm,	day after day cry—
he hath departed—	ah, Kara ³ never reached
or lack his housefolk piety,	he,
or fail disloyal	far from Yamato,
to their lord's mat left	far from his folk and home-
lonely, ²	place
I know not—'Autumn',	on rocky height
to her who nursed him	he lieth in loneliness,
said he,	in a grave rock-built
'shall yet be with you	on a wild-waste isle he
when home again shall	lodgeth
see me';	for whom still yearn his
but gone is autumn,	housefolk.

Ihata's moor	where be their lord, I
his lodging is, alas!	know not,
to his folk who ask,	oh, what to say I know
me	not.

! The author of the lay seems to have been a member of the mission mentioned under lay 199. Of Yakamori himself nothing is known; he was employed doubtless in the suite of the embassy. I take *waga se* in the text to be a title of address, 'my brother', not my husband. Yakamori died suddenly of the pest in Iki island, and was buried there. Iki lies between Hizen and Tsushima, and was a place of call for ships going to China or Korea.

² To fail in respect to the mat of an absent member of a household was a serious offence in ancient Japan, causing disaster to the absent person. See K. p. 300: 'respect my mat while I am absent.'

³ In Iki. Shiraki in Kara was regarded as a frontier land of Tsukushi, the extreme west of Japan, and as a part of the Mikado's realm.

In Book XIX is a short lay beginning *Kushi wo mizhi*—'Nor comb is used, nor house swept out, for the lord thereof hath departed on a grass-pillow journey, wherefore his folk would ensure him safe return.' On this Sengaku says: 'After the master of a household had left on a journey, it was the custom not to sweep the house-place for three days, and not to use a comb for the hair.' In the *Go Kansho* (Chinese *Hist. of the After Han*) it is said: 'When the Japanese go on a journey they choose a man whom they tabu in their interest. He must abstain from flesh, and remain continent until the return of the traveller. In the event of a safe return he is rewarded, otherwise he may be slain, for he must have broken his tabu.'

In 758 the very ships bearing embassies to Korea, or China—two are named, the Harima and Hayatori—were raised to the junior rank of the lower fifth order to ensure safety. I owe this reference to Mr. Minakata.

201

<p> Their humble hope was their lord's weal might endure while heaven and earth last, but far their lord hath wandered from pleasant home- land across the tossing waters, and days and months pass until the wild geese under the skies scream loudly¹— what time his mother who nursed him, and wife left desolate, their long robes all be- drenched with dews of morning, their hanging sleeves, too, moist with mists of evening, along the ways fare, watching for his home-coming safe after weary wayfare— alas! men still </p>	<p> must fill the world with weeping, nor wife nor mother scarce hope again to see him, ah! far from homeland beyond the furthest clouds a hut reed-roofed on autumn moor o'er- strewn with hagi-blossoms his only lodging giveth, on some hill-side where chill the dew and rime fall their lord his lodging findeth— <hr/> Fair wife and children, how longingly they wait for father, husband! whom yon far island hideth from loving eyes for ever— On that lone hill-side with leaves of autumn ruddy. for ay he resteth whom still they yearn to see, a fate how piteous theirs!² </p>
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¹ Autumn-time.² An elegy on the death—as yet unknown to his family—of a member of the mission mentioned under lay 197. Of the

author nothing is known beyond the name of Fujiwi no Murazhi Ko Oyu. *Oyu* seems to be a title of address—Elder or Venerable ; *Ko* perhaps is an additional honour-word.

202

'The dread way perilous	by trial of deer's shoulder-
of the great god of the sea	blade
with pain and travail	in fire-flame cast—
towards the West he ¹	how vain the dream, was
wended,	answer,
and sick inquired	the path how empty, ²
if Kara-wards unscath'd	on further course to ven-
he might fare further—	ture,
the lord of the fisher-	from Iki westwards ven-
folk there	ture!
wise answer sought he	

¹ The subject of the lay is, perhaps, Yakamori, a member of the embassy mentioned in lay 197. He died in Yuki (Iki) ; during his sickness he is represented as having sought the aid of divination. The authorship is attributed to one Musaba, who flourished in Hôji (757-65). A quibble may be hidden in 'Kara', China or Korea, whose homophon (*kara*) means bitterness, misery.

² Literally, 'a mere dream', 'a road in the air'.

BOOK XVI, PART I

' 203

The 16th Book opens with a curious preface, followed by two *tanka*. The preface is as follows:—

There was formerly a damsel called Sakura no Ko (Lady Cherryblossom), who was wooed by two gentles. These young nobles were deadly rivals, each anxious to challenge the other even to death. The damsel was much affected at this state of things, and said: 'From ancient times to this

day it has never been heard or seen that a maid should follow two men to their homes. There is, therefore, nothing left me but the necessity of dying to avoid the interruption of tranquillity by the rival claims of these two gentlemen.'

Then she entered a grove and hanged herself upon a tree; whereupon the rival suitors, distracted with grief, composed the following *tanka* :—

Haru saraba
kazashi ni semu to
aga mohishi
sakura no hana ha
chiri nikeru ka mo.

When Spring appeared
I thought with spray of
cherry
my head to deck ;
but the cherry-spray
beloved,
alas, hath faded, fallen !

Imo ga na ni
kakaseru sakura
hana sakaba,
tsune ni ya kohimu
iya toshi no ha ni.

The vernal blossom,
the spray her name that
beareth,
each year in bloom,
renew'd each year in beauty
flower, face, I hoped to gaze
on.

Both the above turn upon the lady's name, *Sakura*—Cherry-blossom. There follow three other short lays (*tanka*), preceded by a story of *three* men who loved one maid, named Kadzura no Ko—to her destruction, for to save trouble she drowned herself. Thereupon each of the lovers composed a *tanka*, and may have been happy ever afterwards.

The present lay is likewise prefaced by an illustrative story in Chinese (highly amusing, but most seriously intended), of which a somewhat condensed translation follows :—

'Long ago there lived an ancient named Takatori. One spring he climbed a hill to look at the country. There he suddenly came upon a bevy of nine damsels engaged in making broth. They were peerless in their many charms, and in their flower-like forms unparalleled. The damsels saw him, and, calling to him, said, laughing :

'Come here, old grandfather, and blow up the fire for us under the pot!'

The old man nodded assent, and went up to them; whereupon the damsels began to smile and push about alluringly, crying:

'Who has called such an old fellow as this?'

'Then Takatori cried:

'You do not know that it is a holy man you have called to you; the way you behave to him is altogether wrong. But I will make atonement for you by composing a lay.' So he indited the following lay and its *hanka*.

The Kogi learnedly comments upon the name Takatori,—should it be so written, or thus—Taketori? The conclusion is that Takatori as a name is better, and Taketori preferable rather as the designation of a bamboo-gatherer'.

In a further long note the Kogi explains the subject of the lay. The damsels are called *senjo*—semi-celestial or fairy-like beings—more literally, mountain-recluse-women; but there is nothing to show that they are such. The lay is characterized as tedious and inferior to the lay of Uráshima (lay 105), which is of older date, as well as to the lays of Hitómaro and Akáhito, and as showing little of the true spirit of the divine age. It is, in fact, of Chinese origin, and in it the ancient warns the damsels and the world generally to profit by his example. He, too, has been young and handsome, well dressed, courted by society, and admired by women; but now he is old and ugly—just as those who now laugh at him will in their turn become, and be scorned by the young gallants of the Court as they scorn him.¹

While yet my mother,	fine yufu mantle
whonurs'd me still a babe,	of red-sewn plainstuff
my cherish'd form	wearing,
in shoulder-girdle, car-	when grown to child-
ried,	hood
while still an infant	fine frock of spotted hemp-
I crawled upon the mats,	cloth

with sleeves fine-fur-	in smooth and shining
nish'd—	grass-cloth
the little maids would'	and over-vestments
seek me	of hempen fine-stuff
of equal summers,	woven—
their jetty tresses hanging	of village mayors
upon their shoulders,	the daughters even
by pretty comb confined,	woo'd I,
and elder damsels	such was my fortune,
with locks uplifted bound	and fine footgear they
in girlish knot,	gave me
their tresses loosely over	of pattern'd stuff
their shoulders flowing	and parti-colour'd too,
like little girls, would	and boots to wear
seek me	well-sewn and jetty black,
in robes arrayed	the long rains even
with spreading purple	fending,
patterns,	of Asuka's famous fashion-
and mantles dyed	ing,
with true alder-dye of	thus stocking'd, booted,
Wori	I paced about the garden,
in Suminoye,	and maidens under
and girdles of fine brocade	their mother's eye heard
true Koma hand-work	whispers
entwin'd with threads of	of my youth and bloom,
scarlet	and fine things they, too,
woundroundandround,	gave me,
and frocks worn mani-	fine blue silk girdles
fold—	to make my vestment gay,
damsels, spinsters,	and narrow girdles
of hempen yarn, and eke	of outland Kara fashion—
young wealthy maidens	as slim I was then
wearers of silken fabrics,	as any wasp that soareth
fair maids arrayed	

on tiled roof lofty
 of sea-god's fane to perch
 him,
 so dressed I finely,
 bright mirror 'fore me,
 and eke behind me hang-
 ing,
 that on my beauty
 I might the better feast
 me—
 what time spring suns
 shone,
 along the moorside wan-
 dering,
 the very pheasants
 their notes of admira-
 tion
 seem'd to utter,
 in time of autumn,
 when up the hillslopes
 clomb I,
 the very clouds seem'd
 to swim in admiration,
 and thence returning
 to sunbright City-Royal,
 the fine court ladies,

and eke the young court
 gallants,
 with admiration
 turn'd back to gaze, and
 ask,
 who might I be?—
 'twas so in long past
 days—
 whatahandsomefellow!
 the pretty maidens whis-
 per'd—
 with scornful look
 to-day they point their
 finger
 at me and ask,
 why, who is this,
 who passeth, ugly wretch
 he!—
 so was it too
 in days long past and gone
 that men of wisdom
 to after generations
 held up as mirror
 the story of the grandsire
 and the car the son
 brought back ²!

¹ There are many difficulties in this curious lay, of which various solutions have been offered. On the whole I have followed the Kogi in my version, which, however, in the details of dress in particular, is to some extent conjectural.

² The story alluded to is that of Genkoku or Yuen Kuh. His grandfather being old and useless, his parents resolved to get rid of him. Yuen Kuh remonstrated, but was finally compelled to construct a chair or car of some kind and to carry away the grandfather and abandon him in a waste place. Yuen Khu

brought back the chair and was reproached by his father, who said, 'Why bring back that useless thing.' But Yuen Khu answered, 'Not so useless, I thought I might not have time to make another when you are old enough to abandon like grandfather, so I brought it back with me for future use. The father was greatly struck by this answer, and hurrying to the waste place brought back the old man and tended him carefully ever after. (Pishi, *Yuen Kien Luihan* 1703, cclxxi, fol. 13 b, cited by Minakata Kumagusu, *N. and Q.* Aug. 8, 1903.)

There are two envoys on the disadvantages of growing old, white hairs and loss of beauty, and nine short lays addressed by the nine damsels to the Ancient. The justice of his rebuke is acknowledged, a rebuke none had made before, without yea or nay they submit to his reproof, in death or in life they will keep it in mind, they require no further argument, they do not need to arrive at the full bloom of their beauty to understand the justice of his remarks, they would be, as it were, tinctured with new moral life, they bow before his wisdom as the grass bends to the breeze.

204

[A Wife's] Love for her Husband.

No word there cometh	'tis plain to all,
by flow'r-spray bearing	in all my bones that
runner	acheth,
from him, my lord,	and heart and bowels
my ruddy comely lord—	with cruel tortures wring-
and I sick-hearted	eth—
must bide in lonely sorrow,	now death is near,
to the gods all-mighty	swift death upon me lieth,
let none my woe impute,	was it my husband
nor call the wise-men,	at last who cometh, called
nor trial of burning blade-	me,
bone	or did I hear
let them essay,	my mother's voice who
it is my love that paineth,	nursed me ?

on all the cross-ways	Ah, what availeth
the ev'ning oracle who	ordiviner's crackled blade-
asketh,	bone
or the seer's art trieth,	or evening oracle—
for that upon me cometh,	'tis for a glance of him
death cometh imminent. ¹	I love my soul doth
—	hunger!

¹ The lay represents the distress of a dying wife who would fain see her long-absent husband ere death fell upon her. It is not the act of the gods but her love that is killing her. The relatives of a sick person consulted the road-oracle and the diviner on behalf of the moribund, and as they stood by the pillow sought to revive the sufferer by words of affection.

BOOK XVI, PART II

205

A Fair One's Complaint.

My food I swallow	and naught can cure me
but it hath no savour for	save full oblivion
me,	of my ruddy lord and
I wander idly	lover! ¹
but peace to me none	
cometh,	

¹ Attributed to a mistress of Sawi no Ohokimi whose guard at the Palace kept him from her side. One night, thus deserted, she dreamed he was with her, but suddenly awaking and finding herself alone, exhaled her disappointment in tears and the above lay. Sawi (a descendant in the sixth generation of the Mikado Bidatsu (572-85) was moved by her grief and procured relief from the Court office which interfered with his duty as a lover.

206

My heart as pure	• O well it were I met thee,
as are the waters bubbling	and with thee, dear,
—refreshing waters—	I would my bead-lace
from Oshitaru's moor,	thridden
—fair Oshitaru— ¹	with many a white pearl
as pure in love of thee,	against thy hat rush-
where never sound	woven,
comes ²	I would exchange,
of the evil world I'd	the bead-lace round my
meet thee,	neck worn
where never sound	against the hat thou
comes	wearest.

¹ The m. k. is *umasakewo*, sweet rice-sake, applied to Oshitaru because of the homophon *taru*, to drop, as the *sake* does from one tub into another in the course of production.

² That is, of men's ill-natured talk.

207

A Noto Lay.

To muddy bottom	why blubber, blubber!
of steep Kumaki's ¹ pool	dost think thy tears
hath dropp'd the fellow	will float thee up again
his fine Korean axe—	thy fine Korean axe!

¹ In Noto—a peninsula on the NW. coast of the main island, south of the island of Sado.

208

In steep Kumaki's	I'll try to win him peace
dram-shop yonder hear I	there,
a poor fellow	yon poor fellow
soundly rated,	soundly rated. ¹

¹ Such appears to be the meaning of this effusion, probably given as an example of the Noto style.

209

On Tsukuwe's island	with bitter salt
where Káshima's peak up-	I pound and pound it up—
riseth	
shells of shitatami	in vessel place I
I gather and bear away,	the savoury mess and offer,
the 'shells bréak open	on standing table
and scoop the pulp there-	my lady mother offer,
out,	and she the dainty
in running water	will to my father offer,
the flesh I wash and scour,	my lady mother offer ¹ .

¹ There is a word-play of no interest. Noto is the Jutland of Japan. Its name is (said to be) derived from the Ainu *nottu*, a peninsula. The province is the rainiest in Japan. (Chamberlain and Mason's *Guide*, 5th ed., p. 404.) The conclusion of the *uta* is conjecturally rendered. *Shitatami* are a species of clam.

210

The Hart's Lament.

Her well-belov'd one,	for mats good store to
her dear lord and spouse,	win him,
long years together	skins piled on skins ¹ —
in wedded weal had spent	so piled the ridges
when forthright fare'd he	of Héguri's lofty hill are—
to Kara land to hunt there	where in the hare-
the royal tiger,	month ² ,
the king of beasts to hunt	and in the month of
there,	growing ³ ,
to take him living,	folk go to gather
take many a tiger living,	for royal use fresh
and skins good store	simples—

and there beneath,
 twain ichihi⁴ trees I stood,
 upon the cadence
 of that far distant hill,
 where thickly rank'd
 the tall-trunked hi trees
 cluster,
 there bows full many
 bore on their backs the
 archers,
 there arrows many,
 grooved whistling arrows
 bore they,
 and while I watched
 there
 beneath those clustering
 trees
 the deer watching—
 lo ! came a hart and stood
 there
 his eyes all tearful,
 and spoke to me and said
 he—
 ' now must I die,
 yet dead shall service
 render,
 the Sovran's canopy⁵
 my horns shall ornament,
 my ears due vessel
 provide for royal ink,

my very eyes
 shall serve as glitt'ring
 mirrors⁶,
 my hoofs shall furnish
 bow-ends for right good
 bows,
 its hair my body
 to make the royal brushes⁷,
 my skin, too, purvey
 for royal case fine leather,
 his cooks shall mince-
 meat
 of all my flesh provide,
 and of my liver
 like mincemeat shall pre-
 pare,
 tripes too I furnish
 with salt well mixed for
 savour,
 and so my course run
 when all of me is spent
 in service loyal,
 as an eightfold cherry
 blossom,
 as a sevenfold cherry
 blossom,
 due meed of praise shall
 mine be,
 shall mine due meed of
 praise be.'⁸

¹ Up to this point we have an introduction—a sort of prolonged m. k.—to the piling of the folds or ridges of Héguri. Even dead, cries the hart, I continue my loyal service as every part of me is turned to royal use. In N. I. 291 is the story of

a man who passed a night on the moor of Toga between two deer, male and female. The male related a dream in which he saw his body whitened as by a 'mist. His mate explained to him that this meant that he would be shot, and his body smeared with white salt.

² The fourth month.

³ The fifth month.

⁴ I cannot discover what tree is meant—perhaps *Chamaecyparis*.

⁵ The point above the spread was of horn, probably sculptured.

⁶ The reference seems to be to the brightness and largeness of the eyes.

⁷ Pen-brushes.

⁸ It is hard to die, but in rendering such service to the Sovran the hart will be worthy of the praise awarded to many-whorled cherry-blossoms, which, regarded as a rarity, were hailed as auspicious omens.

211

The Crab's Elegy.

By wave-worn Nan'ha
in Woye's creek my home

I had me builded,
and lived a life secluded
among the reeds—
when royal order called
me,

but why I know not,
'tis not that I am clever,
or sing divinely,
that I am call'd, belike,
or flute or harp
play pleasingly, belike,
whate'er the reason

due service I must render,
and so to Asuka¹

this very day must go,
Okina² passing
—though on my legs I
cannot

stand e'en a moment—
and so the moor of Tsuku³
reach

—though builder none
I—

and the middle eastern
gate
approach at last

the royal will there wait-	there in the court-place
ing—	is store of salt well
so must huge horses	pounded,
foot-fetter bear and halter,	salt fine, first-dripped
and bulls be led	from my own Woye pans
by cords rove through	by wave-worn Ná-
their muzzles,	niha—
and the elms innum'rous	
upon the far hills grow-	next are the potters
ing	bidden
with hi trees studded	fresh jars to furnish,
their countless branches	and fresh-made jars are
lose,	furnished
and all their vigour	upon the morrow,.
be reft of, in the sun	and I am salted, pickled
dried ⁴ —	up to my eyes,
	and so my service render-
	ing
so in yon mortar	my meed of praise I earn
from stamm'ring Kara ⁵	me ⁶ .
brought,	

¹ There is a play on Asuka (*asu* = morrow), of which the value is given in the word 'very' of the next line.

² Okina is here a place-name: *oki* means to stand erect which the crab cannot do.

³ Tsukunu, in the text, is the moor (*nu* or *no*) of Tsuku, but *tsuku* = construct, build.

⁴ i. e. exposed to dry in the sun.

⁵ On the same principle that the Russians call the Germans *niemetsu*.

⁶ Even the crab (like stag, horse, bull, elm tree, &c.) renders his due service (as food) to the Mikado (see K. App. XLII, where the crab is mentioned as part of the feast), and finds his reward in the fulfilment of that duty. This lay and the preceding one skilfully combine devotion to the Mikado with a touch of Buddhist respect for life, and, perhaps, some sense of humour. I add here the translation of a *tanka*, unconnected with the pre-

sent lay, but exemplary in its way as dealing with one of the Three Startling Things :—

To meet a wandering
green-greyish ghost of mortal
in the darkness
of a rainy night 'tis fearsome,
past all forgetting fearsome.

The other two 'startling' things are the sudden rustling of quail, roused on a rainy night when cutting *chigaya* or *tsubana* (*Imperata arundinacea*) on the little moor of Sasara, and the meeting far inland a governor's yellow painted house-boat moving as though on a sea-way. (The latter, perhaps, implies a reference to some occasion of such a boat being conveyed over land.)

BOOK XVII, PART I

The 17th Book opens with ten lays by retainers of the Dazaisui (Commandant of the Tsukushi garrison) on his departure for City-Royal in 2 Tempyô (730) to receive his investiture as a Dainagon.

Then comes a short lay by Yakamochi, dated 10 Tempyô (738), motived by the contemplation of the Milky Way (River of Heaven) on Tanabata night (7th of 7th moon). 'This night will the Weaving Woman (or, it may be, the Herdman) cross the River of Heaven in a frail bark while the clouds drift across the mirror-bright expanse of the moonlit sky—[but the clouds hide the view, and also the Weaving Woman's beauty].'

Next are given six short lays, also by Yakamochi, on the beauty of Plum-blossoms, composed by order of the Sovran on the 9th of the 11th moon of 12 Tempyô (Dec. 3, 740).

These are followed by Lay 212, made in praise of the new City-Royal of Kuni on the Plain of Mika. The date is the second moon of '13 Tempyô (Feb.-March, 741). The author is the Chief of the Stables (*Uma no Tsukasa no Kami*), Sakahi-be no Sukune Oyamaro, of whom nothing is known, beyond his lengthy name.

212

In Yamashiro
now standeth City-Royal,
where in the spring-
time
the land is whelmed in
blossom,
and in the autumn
in glow of ruddy leaf'ry,
where round about
flow'th Idzumi's river gird-
ling,

the upper waters
o'erpassed by bridges
hanging,
the lower waters
o'erpassed by bridges
floating,
O long attend there,
for a thousand thousand
years,
the servants of the Sov-
ran.¹

¹ In many of the lays in this and the following books, some abbreviation has been thought advisable, chiefly by omission or shortening of repetitions and common forms of expression.

A number of *tanka* follow, succeeded by others introduced by a Chinese preface, stating the occasion of their composition, which is worth translating.

‘In the new year’s month of 18 Tempyô (747) a heavy fall of snow occurred at the Palace, covering the ground to the depth of several inches. The Sadaijin Tachibana Kyo got together the Dainagon Fujiwara no Toyonari and all the magnates and pages of the Court, and, leading them to the Royal apartments, caused the snow to be swept up. Afterwards a banquet was given in the Great Hall, to which the Daijin, the Sangi, and the magnates were invited, and also a banquet was given in the smaller South Hall, to which the Kyô and lords were invited, and each guest was commanded by the Mikado to compose a stanza in commemoration of the event. The first of these, by the Sadaijin Tachibana, was to the following effect:—

Dread Lord and Sovran
until my head is white
as new-fall'n snow
to serve thee ever truly
shall 'be my grace and joy.'

213

Elegy by Yakamochi on the Death of a Younger Brother.¹

My Lord and Sovran	when came a sceptred
laid his commands upon	runner
me	from City-Royal,
on distant frontier	and happy tidings hoped I
his royal peace to guard	he brought to cheer
him,	me,
and with me went'st	alas, what word he bring-
thou	eth,
to climb the pass of Nara,	—or vain was it,
—green-oaked Nara—	or false the word he
reaching Idzumi's clear	brought me—
waters	my noble brother,
where our horses	my lord, my brother,
we stayed awhile and	how
parted—	how hath it happed
	thus,
'Bide thee brother,'	thou leav'st me—was thy
I said, 'in health and	time come—
happiness	
till my home-coming,'	about the homeplace
and from that day of	when hagi blooms are
parting	blowing
the ways I wended '	in the garden breezes
till many a hill and river	of autumn, when the
us twain divided—	reed-haulms
	are heaviest laden,
so passed the time too	O nevermore thou'lt wan-
tardy,	der
and I yearned for	in morning hour,
him,	in evening hour no more

no more thou'lt wander, in wreathing coils are
 alas, o'er Saho's tree-tops. floating—
 thy funeral fumes oh, sad the tale he bring-
 eth !

¹ The date is Sept. 18, 746. In N. II. 423 we read of the cremation of the Queen-Regnant Jitô in 694, the earliest instance of that practice recorded in the Chronicles.

214

A Lay by Yakamochi on the occasion of a sudden illness threatening death.¹

In leal obeisance	my lady mother,
to my dread Lord and	how to and fro she tosseth
Sovran,	like ship at sea,
across the mountains	rack'd with sore anxiety
with hi trees thickly	lest nevermore
wooded	she may behold her son,
to heaven-distant	and lone and desolate
frontier-land I wended—	my lady wife, too, see I
and scarce recovered	in doorway watching
from the pains of toilsome	from morning until even,
travel,	her sleeves reversed ² ,
in mortal fashion	and ordering the alcove
ere many months were	as night descendeth,
gone	and all the dark hours
to sudden ill	thorough
I yielded, and lay helpless	for her husband yearn-
on bed of sickness—	ing,
and as the days in misery	her jetty tresses scattered
pass slowly by	around her flung dis-
I think of her who nurs'd	hevell'd—
me,	my children, too,

both boys and girls, I see	part me from City-
them,	Royal—
I see them wandering	consumed my heart is,
and all the while still	I' perish fill'd with long-
weeping,	ings,
while yet no word	my days allotted
may sceptred runner	but sorrow bring, un-
carry,	holpen
along the far ways	I weep, a warrior weep I.

¹ Written by Yakamochi on the 20th of the 2nd month of 19 Tempyô (April 5, 747) (in Etchû), probably at the Government *tachi* or Residence. Keichû points out that the opening of the lay resembles that of Okura's elegy on the death of his wife. See lay 61.

² Watching for his return, her sleeves still folded back as in sleep. Some commentators (but wrongly) pretend that there is an allusion to a common belief that on rolling back the sleeves desired visions may be obtained in dreams. She tends his mat, too, in accordance with ancient custom.

There are two envoys, one comparing life to the blossom that withers and is blown away, the other lamenting the absence of the wife who is far away at the mansion in City-Royal.

215

On the 29th of the 2nd moon of 20 Tempyô (April 2, 748), Ohotomo no Sukune Yakamochi, Governor of Etchû, presents to the Secretary of Echizen, Ohotomo no Sukune Ikenushi two short lays of complaint. Yakamochi is confined to his house by sickness, and with the lays sends the subjoined letter written in pure Chinese. This is the beginning of a correspondence of which portions may be given, illustrative of the quaintnesses of old-time Chinese in the hands of old-time Japanese. They are, if not the oldest, among the oldest, examples extant of familiar Chinese correspondence in ancient Japan. It must be remembered that no syllabary had yet been invented, and written

documents were necessarily composed in Chinese: the style, as far as I can judge, is by no means of inferior quality. The text, however, is corrupt and obscure.

‘Falling unexpectedly ill, and with the process of time my malady becoming more tedious, although by prayer to all the gods I obtain some relief, yet weak am I and emaciated, and all the strength is gone from my flaccid sinews, so that I am not yet in a condition to return thanks [for recovery] and depend more and more upon your affection. Now on these spring mornings are the gardens at this season full of the perfume and abundance of the new blossoms, and on these spring evenings the nightingale fills the groves with his music, and ’tis the season to rejoice with harp and wine. But I cannot bear even the motion of a litter, much less the labour of leaning upon a staff, and must remain lonely within my curtain-screen [sick-room]. All I can do is to venture to offer you some petty verses which I fear will unloose somewhat your jaws [make you smile, i.e. ridicule them]:—

All in blossom	The nightingale sings
are the cherry trees of	amid the spring-time blossoms
springtime,	and scattereth them—
oh, would the power	oh, when shall we together
were mine a spray to gather	gather garlands on the hill-
wherewith my head to	sides!’
deck me!	

Ikenushi’s answer, dated April 4, 748:—

‘You have deigned to afford me the unexpected pleasure [unexpected=undeserved] of your fragrant writing. Your cultivation of letters is like that of a garden above the clouds. And you present me with two Japanese lays—verily a brocade upon the forest of literature. I chant them, I sing them, and so remove melancholy from my soul. The mornings of spring are full of the harmony of Nature—verily they are pleasant! On spring evenings the landscape giveth just the delight you so well portray. How dazzling, dazzling are the pink hues of the peach blossoms! How the butterflies frolic and dance among them! And the

green willows how they sway, sway! Lovely is the note of the nightingale hidden among the recesses of its foliage. Ah, delightful! Friendship, limpid as water itself, brings us near together. Knowing each other's thoughts, we need not measure our words. [We can speak without restraint.] How gladsome! How fine! Men of taste understand each other without words. We are parted, like two orchids at a distance from each other [what the two plants are is not to be made out]. Wine and song we do not require. But should we not enjoy the charms of Nature? things that have form [birds] and things that have colour [flowers] would put us to shame [for they enjoy their world]. Such a mood I do not admire, and not liking to be silent, I have, so to speak, put this rough Wistaria cloth on your brocade and present these verses to you as matters perhaps for talk and laughter. [The foregoing is completely Chinese in tone as in language.]

From 'mid these hill-	Yon nightingale
slopes	he cometh singing, rending,
a cherry flow'r spray send I,	the Kerria blossoms—
at least to gladden	alas, ere thou hast touched
thy eyes I send the blossoms,	them,
that less the time be irksome.	the Kerria blooms will
	scatter!'

Yakamochi's answer to Ikenushi (April 5, 748), with one long lay and three short lays:—

'Your generosity deigns to favour my mean self; your unlimited grace extends itself to my poor wit; I sink under the burden of your offering [of two lays]; no words can convey my gratitude. I must confess that in my young days I did not tread the halls of learning; the scrawl [sea-weed] of my perverse [ill-written] letter shows a lack of all grace; I never, in my student days, passed the gate of the Mountain and Persimmon [mountain (*yama*) denotes Yámabe no Akáhito, Persimmon (*kaki*) Kakino-moto no Hitómaro, accepted as *facile principes* among the poets of the Manyôshiu], so that, in resorting to poetic expression, I am lost in a tangled thicket of words. You

deign to say you have put your rough Wistaria stuff on my fine brocade, but what I am sending you is but a pebble to your pearl. But I have a bad, vulgar turn of mind; I cannot keep silent, but must send some columns of words [I cannot keep my hands off versifying]. I shall only make you laugh; but here are my lines:—

Yakamochi to Ikenushi.

In dread obeisance
to our high Lord and
Sovran,
to distant Koshi
o'er many a mountain-pass
I fared, the frontier
in watch and ward to keep,
when suddenly
—this world of men is
ever
a world of change—
tho' warrior leal I be
on couch of sickness
I lie for days ago
and still I lie there
in pain and sadness,
and know not any ease
of mind or body—
o'er many a wooded hill
with hi trees studded
the length'ning spear-
ways
have brought me hither,
where never is any runner
of welcome words
to carry interchange,

and all my span of days
is full of misery,
nor help for me is any,
remote, secluded,
I can but muse and wail,
nor any solace
my heavy heart here find-
eth—
now fair spring-time
doth show its cherry-
blossom,
and I would gather
the sprays with happy
comrade
to deck our heads,
and now the nightingale,
too,
fills all the moorside
with crowded song which I
alas, may hear not!—
and girls in merry beves
wild herbs to gather
roam o'er the heaths and
hillsides,
their red skirts drench-
ing.

in the fragrant rains of your lines, my friend,
 spring, are sweet to me who read
 but all this joyance in them your love,
 is hid from me, the while the livelong night I sleep
 the pleasant season not,
 doth pass away and and long for you all
 vanish— day! ¹

¹ The last portion of the text is a little obscure.

There are three *tanka*.

In the first Yakamochi expresses his longing to view the spring blossoms with Ikenushi.

In the second he desires to enjoy the beauty of the Yamabuki (*Kerria japonica*), and hear the song of the nightingale.

In the third he regrets that he is still too weak to go out with his friend and enjoy the flush of flowers on the hillsides; but his friend is none the less the lord of his heart, despite his feebleness.

BOOK XVII, PART II

There follows a heptasyllabic Chinese ode on Country Rambles. The date is 3rd of 3rd month (April 6, 748). Ikenushi accompanies his poem with the following Chinese preface:—

‘Festal is the third day of the third month. ’Tis late spring, and fair to see is the landscape. One’s face glows in the reflected colour of the peach-blossoms. Pink indeed is their hue; with the green of the willow contrasts the tint of the fresh moss. Hand in hand we gaze upon the distant view of river waters, and lagoons, and banks. In search of wine we come to a country inn, and, with music to help us attain a pleasant mood; the fragrance of friendship brings souls together. But, alas! to-day one thing lacks in the joyance [the presence of Yakamochi]. Your starry virtue is not with us! And in this void must I hammer out my rhymes alone, or refrain from conveying to you the pleasure

of my ramble. So I try my brush and send you the four-rhymed verses herewith.'

[The above letter, like the others written in Chinese, is wholly Chinese in thought, 'form, and diction, imitative of the Chinese style, and full of allusions to the classics.]

[Among the difficulties Ikenushi complains of are even the rhymes and tones, which are quite unknown both to Japanese and Japano-Chinese verse.]

Ikenushi's Chinese versés may be thus rendered :—

Delightful are these latter days of spring and worthy of all praise.

The clear air, the luminous sheen, invite a ramble; the willow-planted dikes look upon the waters and lend beauty and variety to the scene;

the valley of peach-trees, haunt of fairies, cometh down to the sea, whereto floateth the bark of the immortals;

the cloud-chased cup, aromatic with cassia, is filled with the three pure wines; 'tis winged, and as it flieth round urgeth men to pour out their soul in the nine sorts of verse;

drink freely, till our mere selves be forgotten; drink freely, till the spirit of the wine possesses us and no part escapes its power.

The above poem is dated the 4th day of the 3rd month (April 7, 748). An answer from Yakamochi has been lost—as well, it would seem, as some further correspondence between the two friends on the 5th of April, 748. Ikenushi sends a Japanese Lay with two envoys to Yakamochi, accompanied with a preface in Chinese:—

'Yesterday I opened out to you my scanty thought, to-day I weary your eyes and ears. Again have you honoured me with an epistle [lost], and now, against all rules—I am worthy of death, fully worthy of death, I say it most respectfully—I submit to you [a Japanese Lay and two envoys thereto]. Not unnoticing the inferior and insignificant, you favour me with your excellent words, sending me verses bright as a halo, fine as the virtue of the stars.

Your genius is transcendent, your wisdom is like that of the ancients who took pleasure in running waters; your benevolence that of the sages who delighted in the hills [i. e. your love of Nature]. You are like a gem full of dazzle and colour; like Han, who was a lake of wisdom; like Riku, a sea of learning (see Giles's *Chin. Biogr. Dict.*, Nos. 1402, 1613). Self-set within the Palace of Poesy and Literature, your mind travelleth swiftly towards matters that are not ordinary, yet setteth forth your feelings in common modes. While walking seven paces you compose a chapter, and within one sheet you can include a crowd of essays. Excellent are you in dispersing the gloom of a sad heart; the piled-up sorrows of lovers you would remove with ease! Your verses surpass even those of Yámabe (Akáhito) Kakinomoto (Hitómaro). In its very details your style is as delicate as the strokes of an engraving of a dragon [or—you use the brush and the ocean of ink with a delicacy such as would suffice to draw the fine lines of a picture of a dragon. The ocean of ink implies the *amount* of literary labour.] Faultless, indeed, are you in your compositions. Now I recognize my good fortune [in receiving your verses], and humbly venture to add some in reply, by me, Ikenushi.'

216

In dread obeisance,
to heaven-distant march-
land
hast thou journey'd,
wild hill and waste affont-
ing,
a liegeman true,
what cause of grief then
hast thou?
shall royal runners
from City-Royal cease?
confined thou liest,

'tis true, on bed of sick-
ness,
alone, my brother,
and full of woesome
thoughts,
but such the way is
and, folk say, ever hath
been,
of this world of mean-
ness—
but hark! what say our
neighbours

may cheer thee, friend,	their whitesleeves daintily
how all about the hill-	folded,
sides	their smocks of scarlet
the sprays of cherry	above the wet grass lifted,
are heavy with snowy	and wait you brother
blossom	in heartfelt sympathy—
mid which the warblers ¹	so I bid thee be cheerful,
make their unceasing	and this remember,
music,	thou surely yet shalt
while girls in be vies	share in
roam o'er the hills and	the revels of the spring-
moors	time!
to pluck the violets,	

¹ Lit. 'face bird,' i. e. beautiful bird (or *kahoyo-dori*), applied to hawfinch, kingfisher, pheasant, &c. The m. k. are mostly neglected in this version. There are two envoys, with the first of which a branch of *Kerria* appears to have been sent, Ikenushi declares that as he watches the blossoms of the *Kerria* unfold, greater groweth his affection for his friend; in the second he regrets that he can do so little to aid or soothe him—he is, as it were, outside the pale of power to do so.

There follows 'A Chinese poem with two envoys,' by Yakamochi in answer to Ikenushi, with a Chinese letter dated the 5th of the 3rd month (April 8, 748). The letter is subjoined:—

'Last night¹ your messenger came, to my delight, bringing with him your ode on a ramble to see the cherry-blooms in late spring.

This morning², by another messenger, I receive your invitation to a country ramble. A glance at your graceful composition³ has chased away my gloom. Twice I have recited your lines, and my melancholy is gone. Without this help from you my heart could not have been soothed, I trow. Of himself your humble servant can do nothing

in the way of verse making; his dull soul hath, alas! no sparkle in it. If I hold the paper until the brush rots, or sit opposite the ink-stone until I forget thirst⁴, I can compose nothing of any value. It is said that style is natural and cannot be acquired; so how can I hope to find proper words and hammer out fitting rhymes? However, even village children know the saying of the ancients⁵: "It cannot be that a man has any power and does not use it, that he has any speech, and does not answer". Hence I put together my poor lines and respectfully submit them to your ridicule. But for me to attempt to write anything comparable in diction or rhyme with your graceful productions is as if I were to seek to impose a common pebble upon you as a rare gem. No minstrel in truth am I; rather my puny efforts resemble the scribblings of little children. My humble attempt is presented in a postscript to these:—

Lovely is the land and delightful in the waning spring;
at this festal time the wind, as it listeth, sweepeth lightly
by; the swallows come with clay in bill, glad to build
their homes under the caves;

the wild geese fly away, with reeds⁶ in bill, afar off to
mid-ocean:

you tell me you chant new songs with old friends; after
due purification you drink, passing the cup floating in the
clear stream:

oh! gladly would I join in this feast and flow, but alas!
I know so deep hath disease gnawed me, I may not shuffle
to your revel.' [The text is certainly corrupt, and the
translation therefore in some measure conjectural.]

¹ The 4th of the 3rd month (April 7).

² The 5th of the 3rd month (April 8). One interchange of
correspondence is missing.

³ Lit. 'easy, graceful as [the movements of] floating sea-weed
(or river-weed).'

⁴ That is, he is so slow in composition.

⁵ From the Book of Odes, of which Mo (Mao) is the reputed
editor (second century B.C.).

⁶ To rest upon in the course of their migration. There are two envoys. In the first Yakamochi thanks Ikenushi for sending him a spray of *Kerria*, which adds to his pleasure in hearing of the blossoming hush. This is an old lay found in the Tenth Book and adopted by Yakamochi, *akihagi* (bush-clover of autumn) being replaced by *yamabuki* (*Kerria* of spring). Yakamochi—and most of the poets of the time probably—often enough saved themselves trouble after this fashion. In the second envoy Yakamochi hopes Ikenushi will not love him less without, than he, Yakamochi, loves his friend within the fence—to see even in a dream only would be a joy.

217

Yakamochi to his Wife.¹

Together dwelt we,
my lady wife and I,
and ever more loving
we grew in years together:

and as we gazed on
the earliest flowers of
spring-time

in soul and body
she seemed to grow more
lovely

with their new beauty,
my winsome one far from
me—

when in obeisance
to my dread Lord and
Sovran

the passes shaggy
with thickly clustered hi
trees,

the wild waste moor-
lands

to frontier heaven-distant,
on royal service

I crossed and parted from
thee—

and since that parting
have come and gone
months many,

and spring's fair blos-
soms

have shown and passed
and perished,

and thou, sweet wife,
not once my eyes hast
gladdened,

and sore my sorrow
beyond what words can
tell is, .

my sleeves of fine-
stuff²

each night have I rolled
back,

not one forgetting,
to see thee in my dream-
ings ;

but I would see thee,
in very self would set
thee,

the while my misery
a thousandfold increaseth,

I would so distant
thou wert not from me,
dear,

and I would seek thee
and make thine arm my
pillow,

and so embracing
the livelong night be
with thee,

but far the spear-ways,
too far the spear-ways are
alas, dividing,

as though by barrier-gate,
thyself from me, dear,
yet howsoever be it

a happier time shall
a happier time be ours,
when cuckoo cometh

in his own blithe month
singing,

—O would 'twere here—
when all the hills are
blooming
with whitening hare-
bush³,

around me gazing gladly,
o'er Ômi's waters,

the track to City-Royal,
—well-founded Nara—

to our own homeplace,
dear,

like nuye bird,
to ease its grief impatient,

I shall be hastening
as filled with love and
longing,

to see thee standing
in our own doorway
listening

to the evening oracle⁴,
the road still watching
for me

who spurn the ways to
meet thee !

¹ Dated 20th. of the 3rd month, 20 Tempyô (April 21, 748).
The translation is slightly abbreviated.

² If you turn back your sleeve at night, you may see the one
you love best in a dream—is a Japanese belief.

³ *Deutzia scabra*—a common hedge bush in Japan.

⁴ Listening to scraps of passing talk as presaging future
events. There are four envoys echoing various sentiments in
the lay.

218

A Lay by Yakamochi in Praise of Mount Futakami
in Etchū.¹

High-peaked	Futa-	where the wooded
kami ²		cadence
Imidzu's river girdleth,		upon the champaign fall-
when spring-time blossoms		eth;
		Shibutani riseth,
in all their wealth are		the lofty headland where
blooming,		in the calm of morning
when autumn leafery		the white waves beat the
on all the hillsides glow-		shore-sand,
eth,		in the calm of evening
at either season		the flowing tide loud
delightful 'tis to view,		surgeth—
for gods fit dwelling,		an endless joy
most excellent the moun-		from ancient days till
tain		these
and fair to gaze on		hath this fair scene been,
is twin-peaked Futa-		and often as men view it
kami!—		more lovely still they hold
		it!

¹ On the last day of the 3rd month (May 1, 748), Yakamochi composed this lay to relieve his mind oppressed by his long illness. It is preceded by two short lays in which the poet complains that he has not yet heard the voice of the cuckoo, owing perhaps to the rarity of orange-bushes in Etchū.

² There is here an untranslatable m. k. in the text—*tamakushige*, 'fine comb-casket,' applied to *Futa* (*futa* = lid) of Futakami, Twain Gods or Twain Heights. Shibutani is one of the hills of the group ending in a sea-cliff. There are two envoys, one praising the surf-beaten strand of Shibutani, the other expressing the poet's delight that the time for hearing the voice of the cuckoo has come.

On the 16th of the hare-bush month (May 18, 748) Yakamochi, in a short lay, expresses his delight at hearing the cuckoo (*hototogisu*) crying during the night.

At a banquet offered to Yakamochi at the Residence of the Chief Secretary, Hada no Iniki Yachishima, on the occasion of an official journey to the City-Royal from his government, two short lays are chanted.

In the first the guest is assured by the host that he will be remembered as long and as often as the waves roll in from the ocean upon the shores of the Bay of Nago.

In the second Yakamochi declares that he wishes his friend were a jewel he could wear on his arm, and thus never be parted from him.

Then follows a long lay.

219

A Lay made by Yakamochi on the occasion of a Water-party on the Fuse Lagoon in Etchû.¹

Comrades, brothers,	a scene too pleasant
to-day we'll take our	to weary our eyes ever—
pleasure,	forthwith on Fuse
and ride together	our boat we'll launch and
to see the white waves	oar us
surging	midmost the waters,
upon the pebbles	and as we row, enjoying
'neath Shibutani's head-	the varied beauty
land,	of shore and lake and hill,
and further faring	the whirr of wild-duck
beyond far Matsudaye,	we'll hearken in the air,
Unahi's river	upon the tree-tops
reach, where we'll watch	we'll mark the vernal
together	blossoms
the cormorants tossing	and vow more fair
upon the heaving waters,	a scene man nowhere seeth

than nigh Futakami—	here, friends, we'll come
whose clinging ivy	together
no crueller wer't to strip	while the years us hold
from	here,
its mother-rock	and take our pleasure here
than us to part from scenes	amid these hills and
so fair as these:	waters!

¹ May 26, 748. Yakamochi appears to have recovered. The lay seems to be addressed to Ikenushi. It is full of m. k. conceits and m. k. prefatal introductions to names, words, or syllables, of which only a partial imitation is possible.

220

A Lay by Ikenushi in answer to the last.¹

The clust'ring flowers	where flow Imidzu's
of fuji now be scattered,	waters
but harebush-blossoms	with the sea-flood ming-
in all the hedges show,	ling,
along the moorsides,	upon the salty marshes
along the mountain slopes	their food a-picking
with hi trees shaggy	while shines the morning
the cuckoo's note resound-	sun,
eth—	and watch the turning
my heart it yieldeth	of the flowing tide that
to these gay influences;	riseth,
so, friend, I pray thee,	to the sea-fowl listening
—I love thee well thou	who call their mates the
knowest—	while,
with me together	from scene so pleasant
ride forth to see the land	to Shibutani fare we,
and watch the shore-	where roll the white
birds,	waves

upon the pebbles flinging	across the ripples
sea-tresses precious	we'll row, and still un-
whereof good store we'll	sated,
gather	'or standing, sitting,
for weaving chaplets—	the beauty of the scene
upon fair Fuse's waters :	own,
ourskiff next launch we,	or be it autumn
the stout oars let us man,	when all the hills are
with bright sleeves flut-	glowing,
t'ring	or spring-time be it
row forth amid the waters	when all the hills are
towards Wofu's head-	shining—
land	as thou may'st will it,
with fallen blossoms shin-	my friend, our pleasure
ing,	take we,
where the reed-ducks	and feast our eyes on
gather	the scene so fair before us
upon the shore-sands	might we for ever gaze
under,	on !

¹ The date is given as 26th of the 4th month (May 28, 748).

A short lay by Yakamochi follows, presented at an entertainment given by Ikenushi at his residence on the day mentioned in the argument of the last lay (May 28, 748), expressing regret at his approaching departure, which would entail an absence of many days.

Four *furu uta* (old lays—i. e. made previously to and not expressly for the occasion, and more or less appropriate—slightly adapted, probably) succeed.

In the second, Suke Uchino Kura no Imiki Nahamaro expresses his regret that his friend will be in City-Royal during the pleasant 5th month, when the cuckoo's voice is heard in the land, which they will not enjoy the music of together.

The third is Yakamochi's answer bidding his friends comfort themselves with threading chaplets of orange-

fruits (small oranges are meant), which belong also to the 5th month.

In the fourth, Ishikaha 'no Asomi Mitohoshi complains that [in the northern clime of Etchiu] one may have to wait a month or more for the orange-fruit to be fit for threading into chaplets, therefore he will take the flowers also and inweave them with such of the golden fruits as he may find full enough among them.

To these Yakamochi answers that his departure is close at hand, and during the interval it were well they saw as much of each other as possible, that their friendship may be the more lasting afterwards (May 28, 748).

221

In Praise of Mount Tachi in Arakaha.¹

In Koshi country,	where every morn' and
the heaven-distant land—	even
its very name	the coiling mists rise,
doth tell of its remote-	so in men thoughts of
ness—	wonder
the hills are many,	rise at the scene,
and countless are the	and as the years their
rivers,	course run,
but 'tis on Tachi,	and folk fare thither
on Tachi's hill engirdled	and o'er the scene their
by Nihî's waters,	eyes send,
the god his seat hath	for a myriad years
chosen,	of Tachi shall they speak
where summer-through	still
lieth	to men who never
fair snow upon the	have yet beheld its beauty,
peak—	and so its story
where Katakahi ²	its name and fame shall
with clear flow encircleth	men hear
the lofty steeps,	with joy and admiration.

¹ Tateyama (Tachi) in Etchiu, some 9,500 feet high. The date of the lay (by Yakamochi) is May 29, 748. The two envoys are partial echoes. A most interesting account by Mr. R. Atkinson of Tateyama and its adjoining peaks (Yatsugatake, 'Eight- or Many-peaked Range'), will be found in the *T. A. S. J.*, vol. viii, 1879.

² The Katakahi river.

222

Answer-Lay by Ikenushi in Praise of Mount Tachi.¹

Eastward towereth it	its valleys deep and sombre,
towards where the bright	its roar and murmur
sun riseth, ²	of clear coursing waters,
Tachi, high hill,	where with the sun's
in majesty divine,	rise
the white cloud-masses	creep wreathing coils of
it pierceth into heaven,	mist,
nor difference knoweth	and with the sunset
of winter or of summer,	long lines of cloud float
for bright snow ever	hovering—
its lofty peakenshroudeth,	my heart like drifting
and so the mountain	cloud, too,
hath from the world's	sways hither thither,
beginning	my wonder faileth not
to men revealed	as coiling mists fail,
its craggy loneliness,	the murmur of the waters
its dread and awfulness	is ever clear—
increasing ever	for years a myriad may
the wonder of its beauty,	be heard that limpid
its peak sublime,	music.

¹ The date of the lay is May 30, 748.

² This seems to be the real value of the passage *asahisashi so-gahi ni miyuru*, though the m. k. *asahisashi* is so used as to indicate the back (so) being turned eastwards.

³ From this point the similies are difficult to manage, but the version is believed to be fairly correct.

⁴ The poet's heart yields to the beauty of the scene, which cannot be forgotten: the murmur (*oto*) of the river shall carry the clear fame of Tachi to remote generations of men.

223

Yakamochi to Ikenushi.¹

The solemn larch trees ²	and heard the shore-fowl
that cluster on Futakami ³	calling
whose leafery ever,	across the sea-sands,
whose tall trunks ay	and reed-reapers 'their
endure—	skiffs ⁴
so may thy years, friend,	oar o'er the waters,
ay green endure and	and in the scene delightful
vigorous,	have shared thy plea-
with whom each morn-	sure—
ing	but now amid our joyance
have I exchanged fair	in leal obeisance
greeting,	to our dread Lord and
and every evening	Sovran
have wandered hand in	for City-Royal
hand locked	I set me forth on service
by Imidzu's waters,	and part from thee,
and when the winds were	, friend,
blowing	for I must wend me,
from Eastland boister-	faring
ous,	along the spear-ways,
watched with thee in the	and climb the passes where
haven	the clouds hang hover-
the white waves leap-	ing,
ing,	

and tread the craggy the month when cuckoo-
 steeps bird
 and fare far from thee— singeth blithely,
 the while what weary for then might fragrant
 days posy ⁵
 I must endure, be made for me
 and as these things I by day by night to feast
 ponder on,
 I would it were who fare, alas ! without
 thee.

¹ The lay is one of regret by Yakamochi at his approaching departure from Etchû in obedience to a summons from City-Royal. The date is given as the 30th of the 4th month of 20 Temp'yô (May 31, 748).

² *Abies tsuga*.

³ Here occurs a punning m. k. turning upon the real meaning of *Futa*—*futa* = two.

⁴ This appears to be the meaning, or at least a possible meaning of the text.

⁵ The *Kusudama* is meant. This was a kind of amulet made of small aromatic bags bound up ball-wise with artificial flowers and decked with pendants or tassels of coloured silks. It was hung on pillows, or over screens, or in the neighbourhood of the women's apartments in the Palace, to ward off all sorts of evil influences. *Kusudama* is a contraction of *Kusuri dama*—i. e. medicinal ball. Perhaps it was a sort of aromatic prophylactic or antiseptic device. An illustration is given in the *Kotoba no Inzumi*, sub voce.

The *Kusudama* was used on the 5th day of the 5th month (one of the Five Sekku or great Festivals—7th of the 1st month *in'jitsu*; 3rd of 3rd month, *jôki*; 5th of 5th month, *tango*; 7th of 7th month, *tanabata*; and 9th of 9th month, *chôyô*, Brinkley), and part of Yakamochi's complaint is that he has to leave before the month when the cuckoo sings—the 5th month—on the 5th day of which the *Kusudama* would be available to protect him on his journey.

224

Answer-Lay by Ikenushi.¹

Remote as heaven	and full of sorrow,
from well-laid City-Royal	such grief I cannot bear,
the land it lieth,	and as my eyes do wander
yet while we communed	o'er all the land
brother	I hear the note resounding
all thought of sorrow	of cuckoo plaining
each chased far from the	mid the harebush ²
other—	flower'd hills,
now thou, obeisant	and like the mists
to our dread Lord and	in gloomy coils arising
Sovran,	my mind unsure is
on thy high office	as forth I sally
must fare to City-Royal,	in silent awe and prayerful
the gaiters donning	upon Tonami ³
of young reeds made,	right offerings to make
wherewith	and pray for thee, friend,
do wayfarers fend them	my comely lord, that thee
against rough paths and	attend good fortune
weather,	in all thy wayfarings,
at day-break hour	and when the months
when flights on flights of	shall come
birds	and the wild pink's
do allwhere hurtle	flow'r
departest thou and leavest	shall bloom in fullest
me	'beauty,
behind in sorrow,	its season knowing,
who pine for thee, my	I may on thy face gaze,
brother,	brother,
far from me faring,	and, brother, thou on
for full of woe am I,	mine gaze. ⁴

¹ Addressed to Yakamochi by Ikenushi in answer to lay 223 with two *tanka* on the 2nd of the 5th month (June 2, 748).

² *Deutzia scabra*.

³ Tonami is in Etchū.

⁴ At the time of the flowering of the wild pink he hopes to welcome his friend back to Koshi. Of the two envoys one is worth translating:—

My lord, my brother,
whom I with all my heart love
each morn yon pink
I watch, in hope awaiting
the flower that it prom'seth.

225

A Lay of Rejoicing by Yakamochi, on being assured
in a Dream of the finding of a favourite Hawk
which had strayed.¹

Remote as heaven	(those island birds) the
the land of snowy Koshi,	waters
the furthest frontier	of the running river
(as well its name doth	do oar their skiffs against,
tell us ²)	their brazier-flaming
of our Sovran's realm,	decoy flares lifting high,
where the mountains	when rimy, dewy
tower,	autumn-time had come,
where the streams are	and moors and valleys
bright and sparkling,	with flights of wild-fowl
and vast the moors are,	echoed,
and thick the jungle	my men I gathered,
groweth,	and many a hawk they
and trouts the beck	brought there,
fill,	but my swart falcon,
when summer's glory's	with outspread gable tail ³
highest,	and pretty silvered
where the cormorant	bells upon his legs,
keepers	or morning birds

by hundreds started, where e'er his flight had
 missed he? ta'en him,
 or evening birds each day more burning
 by hundreds started, the grief grew in my
 missed he? heart,
 his bird missed never— and deeper sighed I,
 easy to fly, and sure and pondered long if
 to wrist to come, might I
 beside him bird 'twere by nets of fowler
 hard on this side spread and
 to find were worthy that
 of any place, for peerless of the mountain slopes,
 my bird I boasted, and watchers posted nigh,
 and in my pride I laugh'd, yet win my birdie—
 proud of my falcon—
 what time that dolt and
 dotard—
 nought said he to me—
 on a rainy day and cloudy
 my birdie taketh
 to fly upon his quarry,
 nor aught he said
 but that a hawking went
 he—⁴
 so Mishima's moor
 Futakami's hill affronting
 he let him fly from,
 and soaring mid the
 clouds
 was lost my birdie,
 to win him back I knew
 not,
 nor how discover

so placed I nets and men,
 and shining mirror
 and bands of cloth took
 with me,
 and hung before
 the altar of the god,
 his help invoking—
 and there I prayed, when
 lo!
 to me a virgin
 came in a vision, saying—
 ' the bird thou lovest,
 thy noble falcon o'er
 Matsudaye's strand
 hath hied him in his
 flight,
 past Himi's bay,
 where herring-fish abound,
 round Tako's island

to wheel him, hunting and he may come to thee,
 ever, at most days seven,
 and nigh Furuye, so grieve not, gentle
 where thick the reed- ' Sir'—
 ducks gather, thus spake she softly,
 fore-yester-day that virgin in my dream,
 and yesterday he was, [and dream and sorrow
 two days but wait thou vanished].

¹ In a Chinese note appended to this curious lay, probably by Yakamochi himself, we read :—

' In the canton of Furuye in the county of Imidzu [in Yakamochi's government of Koshi], a three years old hawk was caught, extremely fine in form and feather, and a capital striker of pheasants.

On a certain occasion, a man acting as falconer, named Yamada no Fumihito Kimimaro, made trial of the bird and lost him. It was contrary to his orders to fly the hawk on the moorland. The bird soared up into the sky and was lost in the clouds. The man tried to get him back with a tainted rat as lure, but to no avail. A new device was then tried, fowlers' nets being spread in different places and closely watched, but again without result. Meanwhile prayers were offered up [by Yakamochi himself?] in the shrine of the deity of that place in the hope of being heard. There appeared in a vision to the suppliant a beautiful damsel, who said, "Sir, do not let your distress overcome you, you shall ere long regain your truant bird." Whereupon he awoke and was glad, and to dispel his annoyance and express his gratitude, composed the above lay on the 26th day of the 9th month.'

There are four envoys, but they are not more than echoes of the principal lay.

² Koshi, the name of Yakamochi's province (or rather of a more extensive tract of country), is said to have reference to the crossing (*koshi*) of the hilly country between it and Nara (City-Royal).

³ Or 'roof-shaped'. There were thirteen kinds of tail among hawks. 'Roof-shap'd' probably means wedge or fan-shaped.

⁴ This seems to be the sense of the text—the old hawker merely said he was going to hawk, but not that he was taking his master's favourite bird.

BOOK XVIII, PART I

226

In praise of the Cuckoo.¹

Midmost the land	are bound in posies, ²
the sun-descended Sovran	from dawn until the even
divine in majesty	and all the night thro'
high throned in power	his note is heard and
ruleth,	moveth
countless the hills are	the hearts of all men,
the spacious realm en-	the hearts of all men
girdle,	moveth
and the myriad birds,	and never a time is
there	the wondrous bird men
come singing in the	hail not
spring-time,	his long-drawn note
and 'mongst them	a-listening.
glorious	
the cuckoo bird he sing-	
eth,	Yet rogue he is, too,
when the harebush	yon cuckoo bird, a rogue,
blossoms	for everywhere
do all the wide land	the orange blooms he
whiten,	rendeth,
singing loudly	with all his might while
until the sweet-flag	singing:
flowers	

¹ Composed by Yakamochi while lying alone 'within the screen'. The date is May 31, 749.

² On the 5th of the 5th month, one of the Go Sekku (Five Chief Feasts). Conf. lay 223, notes.

227

By Yakamochi, congratulating the Sovran on his
Rescript celebrating a fortunate find of gold in
Michinoku.¹

Age after age
hath vanished since from
heaven

on the Reedy Moorland,
on the Land of Rich grain
ears

in godlike majesty
to rule the land descended
the primal Sovran,²
whom generations fol-
lowed

of sun-descended
Sovrans in long lineage
to bear sway o'er
all the land's four faces,
where broad the rivers,
and fertile are the uplands,
where bounteous tribute
and treasure inexhaustible
are ever offered,
yet maugre all this wealth
our mighty Sovran,
his people's aid inviting,
himself well-purposed
to achieve a task auspi-
cious,³

in his great heart
good store of gold desired,
and sorely sorrowed

for that such store still
fail'd him—

what time in cock-crow
Eastland,
in Michinoku,
on Woda's hill, came
tidings
how gold there lay,
and thus the Sovran's
heart

was cleared of grief,
and divinely he bethought
him,—

'the gods of Heaven,
and the gods of Earth
have holpen,
and all the spirits
of My great ancestors,
that such a fortune,
unknown to former ages,
My age befalleth,
token that all the land
shall henceforth flour-
ish'—

then all his loyal lieges,
in suite of service
from ancient men to
maidens,

to heart's desire
 in gracious-wise endow'd
 he,
 wherefore did men
 their Sovran bless and
 honour⁴—
 and I, Ohotomo,
 great gladness in my
 heart knew⁴—
 our far-off ancestor,
 primal, divine,
 Takamimúsubi's prog'ny,
 the Grand Commander⁵
 (such name and title bore
 he)
 his Sovran served,
 we too, so serve our
 Sovran,
 serve him at sea,
 our sodden corpses leaving
 to the salt sea leaving,
 our Sovran serve by land,
 our corpses leaving
 amid the wild-waste
 bushes,
 rejoiced to die
 in our dread Sovran's
 cause,
 ne'er looking back
 from the border of the
 battle,

for such our boast is!—
 that name heroic, famous,
 we still do bear
 from ancient days to these
 days,
 adown the ages,
 Ohotomo and Saheki⁶,
 son from father
 th' ancestral fame receiv-
 ing,
 unflecked transmitting,
 in duty to our Sovran
 achieved and loyal,
 in hand strong bow of
 whitewood,
 sword borne on thigh,
 stand we on guard at
 dawn,
 on guard at even
 the Royal Palace guard-
 ing
 of our dread Sovran—
 than we could men be
 truer?⁷
 our duty ever
 in loyalty achieving,
 rejoice we ever,
 our Sovran's hest obey-
 ing,
 to be his faithful servants.

¹ Date June 13, 749. In the 2nd month of the 1st year of Tempyô Shôhō (749) gold was first brought to the capital from Michinoku (the north-eastern half of the main island oppo-

site Koshi on the west), whereupon due offerings and thanks were presented at all the shrines in the five home provinces and the seven circuits by spécial command of the Mikado (Shomu, 724-48 or '49). The amount of gold was nine hundred ryô. In the 4th month the Mikado went in state to the temple of Todai, and stood before the Hall of the Rusana Buddha (Dainichi Nyorai Tathagata), and ordered the Sadai-jin Tachibana no Sukune Moroye (a supposed compiler of the Manyôshiu) to speak before the Buddha, and these were his words :—

‘My Sovran Lord biddeth me speak these words before the Rusana Buddha. In this great Realm of Yamato from the beginnings of Heaven and Earth (i.e. from their separation) hath gold been received from men and lands, but a lack of gold being anticipated, it hath been heard from the Warden of Michinoku in the Eastland, Kudara no Ohokimi, that gold existeth in that land in the county of Woda, which welcome tidings was received with great joy and gratitude for the bounty of the Buddha, wherefore in the name of all the servants of His Majesty, from the highest to the lowest, I have received His Majesty's commands humbly to make reverent acknowledgement before the Rusana Buddha.’

A rescript of similar tenor was addressed to the nobles and vassals of the kingdom, and the lay of Yakamochi was largely founded upon the language of this rescript, ending with a glorification of his own clan (Ohotomo), and lastly of himself. An extract from it is subjoined :—

‘For the purpose of making an image of the Rusana Buddha the gods of heaven and the gods of earth have been reverently adored (different ideographs represent the two orders of gods) and the souls of the Sovrans in their succession have been invoked, and it is the Royal Will that the efforts of all the people be enlisted, that so calamities may be averted and damages be warded off, and the happiness of the people risk no peril, but gold is lacking and the Royal Heart is grieved,’ &c.

² Ninigi no mikoto.

³ What the “task auspicious” was, is stated in note 1.

⁴ Yakamochi here alludes to the favour bestowed upon himself by the Mikado, who had raised him from the lower division of the lower-fifth rank to the lower division of the upper-fifth rank.

⁵ Ôtomo (Ohotomo) or Grand Guard. The divine ancestor of the clan was Ama no Oshi-hi no Mikoto (N. I. 86), one of the eight deities proceeding from two of the original three gods of Japanese mythology (F. — Synopsis der Göttergenealogie in *Nihongi*).

⁶ Of the Saheki-be (or guild) the ancestors were *yemishi* or aborigines—possibly the word is Ainu (N. I. 212). The Saheki were made Chiefs of the Right Guard when the Ôtomo were placed in command of the Left Guard in the time of the Mikado Yuryaku (457–79).

⁷ A plagiarism from lay 67.

There are three envoys, echoes of the principal lay. From a note appended (by Yakamochi ?) to the last of these, we learn the date of the lays to be the 12th of the 5th month of 1 Tempyô Kempô Shôhō—June 2, 749. The lay, the text of which is not free from obscurities and difficulties, is in effect an impassioned presentment of the antiquity and divinity of the Ohotomo house, connected with the discovery of gold by the bounty of the Sovran bestowed upon that occasion, in which Yakamochi, a member, real or pretended, of the Ohotomo house, participated. In the eighth century the predominance of the Fujiwara clan was assured, but no clan could show so high an origin as that claimed by the Ohotomo and Saheki families. The first half of the lay is an exordium to the name Ohotomo, the rest is a panegyric of the clan.

BOOK XVIII, PART II

228

A Lay [by Yakamochi ?] in anticipation of a Royal Progress to the Summer Palace at Yôshinu.¹

Thy sun-descended	first deigned to choose
ancestor ² , most dread, en-	in Yôshinu his palace,
throned,	and oft hast thou ³ , Sire,
o'er all Yamato	Yôshinu's palace hon-
with power divine who	oured,
ruled	and may thy lieges,

in his degree and name while flow the streams
each and rivers
serve thee there while tower the hills and
' mountains.

¹ The date is May 4, 749.

² The Mikado Ôjin (270-310). In the fifteenth year of his reign (288), in winter, he visited the Palace at Yôshinû, where the Kunisuhito (or Kudzu)—local chieftains—offered him sake and songs. These folk lived on berries and boiled frogs. From this time they often came to court, bringing presents of chestnuts, mushrooms, and trout. (N. I. 264.)

³ The Mikado Shômu.

There are two envoys—mere echoes. (The constant change of residence by the early mikados was due to *tabu* of their predecessor's palace through death. Hence this lay indirectly wishes long life to the reigning sovrain.)

229

By Yakamochi in praise of awabi pearls which he
would send to his wife at City-Royal.

Susu's¹ fishers
mid ocean's awful waste
row forth and dive
for
fine white pearls of
awabi²—

O would that hundreds
were mine of shining
pearls,
pearls, pearls five hun-
dred!

to send to City-Royal
for thee, left desolate
my lady-wife, beloved—

alas! still parted
our sleeves are, dear, and
still
our couch is lonely,
for elsewhere now thou
sleepest,³
and still neglectest
to bind thy morning
tresses,
the days ay counting
that pass since we were
parted
pearls would I send
thee

in trust thou might'st and sweet-flag flowers
 some solace this pleasant fifth-moon
 find in entwining month
 the gift with orange blös- while cuckoo still is sing-
 soms, ing.

¹ Susu is in Noto. The date of the lay is June 5, 749.

² Venus's ear (*Haliotis*), in which pearl-like concretions are not uncommon ; or from which pearly jewels were made.

³ When the husband was away the conjugal alcove was deserted, and the desolate wife forbore to dress her hair.

In (N. I. 323) the following story is told :—

' In the autumn of 425 the Mikado Ingyô hunted in the island of Awaji. Deer, monkeys, and wild boar filled the mountains and valleys like dust-clouds, springing up like flames of fire, and dispersing like flies. Yet not a single beast was caught. Izanagi (the island-god), on being appealed to, said, " I intended no beast should be caught. Find a pearl which exists at the bottom of the sea of Akashi and offer it to me, then ye shall catch all the beasts." . . . But for a long time no one could reach the bottom of that sea. At last a fisherman named Osashî got to the bottom and reported that he had found there a huge sea-ear (*awabi*) in a shining place. He was sent down again and came up with the sea-ear in his arms, but died as soon as he emerged above the waves. Then the sea-ear was split open and a great pearl was found in its belly, in size like a peach.'

There are four envoys, each a partial echo.

230

A Remonstrance addressed to the Secretary Wohari
 no Woguhi.¹

Since Ohonamúji ² of this fleeting world of
 and Sûkunabikôna ours
 the world did fashion the tie so tender
 have men of every age that bindeth child and
 as law accepted . parent,

the bond uniteth
to husband, wife and
children—

in this fair season
when chisa³ herb full
flowereth

thy wife so comely
between her smiles and
tears

will morn and even
her sad complaint de-
liver—

‘are all my days
to be thus void of joyance?’

the gods she asketh,
the gods of earth and
heaven,

for time as happy
as days of blossomy spring
she hoped, but farther
such happy time recedeth,
so saith thy wife,

for word from thee still
waiting,

deserted, desolate,
the while that Sáburu,
that girl who hither,
thither,

like foam that drifteth
upon Imidzu swollen
by snow late melted
under the warm south
wind,

loosely drifteth,
that girl, that Sáburu,
bindeth,

as with a bond
to her she bindeth thee,
like niho wild-fowl,
with her paired, forth
thou wanderest

towards depths as deep
as Nago’s flood allured—
beyond all help thou
seemest.

¹ Wohari no Woguhi. Nothing more is known than that he was ‘fumihito’ (registrar or secretary) to the government of Etchū. The lay is preceded by a few short sentences in Chinese, declaratory of marital rights and duties, followed by the comments of the author of the Kogi. The substance of the whole is subjoined:—

There are seven valid reasons for a letter of divorce—barrenness (the wife having attained ‘the age of fifty without children), adultery, disobedience to husband’s parents, loquacity, theft, jealousy, incurable disease. As a preliminary, the wife’s relatives must be notified, otherwise the husband is liable to banishment for a year and a half.

There are three pleas in bar. 1. Good behaviour of the wife during the last illness of her husband's parents. 2. Rise in rank of the wife after marriage. 3. Absence of any home to which the wife can be sent. See an excellent paper by Mr. Kütchler on Marriage in Japan (*T. A. S. J.* 13). How far in early Japan this Chinese marriage code was adopted or enforced it is not easy to say.

In 7 Wadō (715) a rescript ordered instances of filial piety and conjugal good behaviour to be posted on gates of towns and villages.

The beginnings of law and the foundations of duty lie in the observance of the precepts of the ancients. The righteousness of the husband is nothing less than the continuance of natural feeling—a treasure for the whole household—how, then, should it be possible to abandon old customs and adopt new ones (abandon what is familiar and adopt what is strange). In illustration of what is said above, the following pieces have been composed, so that men may repent being led away to neglect the morality of the sages of old.

The lay is by Yakamochi, and is dated 15th of 5th month (June 5, 749).

² Ohonamūji is one of the progeny of Susanowo. Sukunabikona is one of the eight gods proceeding from Takamimusubi and Kamumusubi, two of the three primal gods of Japanese mythology.

'Ohonamūji and Sukunabikóna, with united strength and one heart, constructed the sub-celestial world . . . the people enjoy [the means the gods invented for their comfort and protection] universally until the present day.' *N. I.* 54 sqq. See also *K.* 67, n. 18, and Aston, *Shintō*.

³ The text here is obscure, also at the close of the lay, of which the rendering is conjectural. There are four envoys, of which the last is satirical. It describes the arrival of the deserted wife at her husband's residence, where the girl Sāburu (an *ukareme*, floating girl or courtesan) is entertained on a 'swift' horse (that is, on a government horse), yet without bells (which government horses carried to give notice to the post-relays, so that fresh horses might be in readiness), thus causing a great excitement in the village where Woguhi's infatuation was, of course, well known.

By Yakamochi in praise of the Orange tree.¹

With reverence	'first blossoms showeth,
I dare my verse indite—	fair gifts wherewith may
in a day long past	maidens
when ruled yon ancient	their bright 'sleeves
Sovran,	'deck,
did Tázhima Mori ²	or the fragrant flowers
pass o'er to the Land	resting
Eternal	may on the bush wilt
and the eight [flagg'd]	until the fruits shall ripen
spears ³	all fit for threading ⁶
thence brought he to our	in armlets for fair
land	damsels,
men say, and likewise	one tireth never
of the tree that never	to see upon their arms—
fadeth	when autumn cometh
the fruit fine fragrant	and chill rains fall in
to wide Yamato brought	showers,
he—	and when the hillslopes
and in his wisdom	with ruddy treetops glow
that ancient Sovran	and all their leaves
planted	lose,
throughout the land ⁴	the orange bush display-
the tree that never fadeth,	eth
which with the spring-	its fruit full ripen'd
time	in all its golden glory,
abundant shoots display-	when fair snow falleth
eth,	and all the land is wintry,
and with 'the lush'	though hoar-frostshow-
month, ⁵	eth
when flieth cuckoo sing-	the leaves nor wilt nor
ing,	wither,

their green tint ever most excellent
 keep, and flourish ever, the orange-bush, ay
 so hath it been famous
 from the days of the gods for ruddy fruit, flower
 till these ⁷— fragrant!

¹ Dated, June 14, 749. The orange-bush is praised for its beauty in spring and summer and autumn and winter. The flowers are fragrant gifts for maids when plucked, when left on the tree they wilt, but then the fruit comes ready for armlets; a small-fruited variety of the Citrus no doubt is meant.

² In (N. I. 259) we read that in the year 61, in the reign of the Mikado Suinin (B.C. 29—A.D. 70), Tazhima Mori was sent to the Eternal Land (China) to get the fragrant fruit that grows [ripens?] out of season, the tachibana. Tazhima is said to have been a descendant of a king of Silla (in Korea). An older name than *tachibana* for the orange is given by Mr. Chamberlain (K. 198)—*sagari-ki*, which might mean 'hanging-tree', referring perhaps to the manner in which the fruit hangs upon the branches. More probably *tachi* is *tsuchi* (common in god-names), a laudatory prefix. One of the *shisei* (Four Families) derived its name from the orange-bush. By the 'Land Eternal' Korea may be meant, or more probably China. In the former case the orange would have been introduced from China through Korea.

³ The real meaning of the expression is unknown, but see K. 198. Possibly some reference is intended to the fact that the character *hoko* forms part of the character *tachibana*. The Kogi seems to differentiate a spray with the leaves on from one with the leaves off and bearing the fruit only, the latter being called the *hoko* spray, from some fancied resemblance between a spear with its broad head and the bare branch tipped with fruit.

⁴ The anxiety of the Mikado was to provide a fresh source of food. In a Nihongi lay (N. I. 259) the abundance of orange-trees seems to be referred to—'Its branches beneath, men had all plundered; its branches above, birds perching had withered.' See also K. 248.

⁵ *Satsuki*, lush, i. e. 5th month.

⁶ The fruits were comparatively small.

⁷ An exaggeration of course—from the reign of Suinin ; *vide supra*.

232

By Yakamochi on a Pink he had planted in his garden.¹ "

<p>Tofurthest march-land, obeisant to my Sovran, on royal service have I the wild hills crossed, to'snowy Koshi, and now for five long years on fine-sleev'd arm ² I may not sleep, nor know companion'd slumber, with still unloosèd girdle³ on lone bed tossing—</p>	<p>a summer lily brought I to flower beside it, and so as lover-flowers to bloom together, and day by day I watch them our bond recalling— did I not so seek solace, my sorrow soft'ning, so far from thee I could not one little day bide here.</p>
--	--

<p>my heart to comfort some- what a wild pink brought I to plant my garden mid- most, and from the moorside</p>	<p>————— The fair pink flow'r each time I look upon it I think of thee, dear, and in its beauty vision the sweetness of thy smile !</p>
---	---

¹ Dated July 16, 749.

² This seems to be the meaning—his own (or his wife's) arm.

³ The sign of fidelity. The m. k. are not fully rendered.

233

A Lay, made by Yakamochi upon the Return of
a Friend.¹

To City-Royal,	and drank my fill of sake,
achieved thy loyal service,	but 'twas in vain,
thy count to render	my grief for thee deep-
the spear-ways thou	rooted
wendedst,	as rush of Nago,
o'er craggy steeps	where scream the wild-
and many a moorland	fowl ever
waste,	while roars Imidzu
and now a year gone	snow-swollen down ' the
to us, my lord, returnest—	vale,
many the days were	would not be eased,
thy presence cheer'd us	and now thy duty ended,
not,	so long awaited,
and all unquiet	at last thou comest to us
my anxious heart to	with thy fair smilings
solace,	like moorland lily's smil-
in cuckoo month	ings,
when lush is all the	and from this day forth
greenery,	my mirror-bright eyes
with sweet-flag flowers	would on thee
and willow-sprays fair	unchanged by days dwell
garlands	gladly!
I wove to deck me,	

¹ In 20 Tempyô (748) Kume no Ason Hironaha went officially to City-Royal where he remained some time, and returned to Etchû on the 27th of the intercalary fifth month of the succeeding year (July 19, 749), on which occasion Yakamochi entertained him at the Hall of Wardens (in the prefecture of Etchû), and presented the above congratulatory lay with two *hanka*.

There are two envoys—the first is, ‘How glad I am to see thee again as I saw thee last autumn, thou who art newly come from City-Royal’; the second is, ‘Now thou greetest again mine eyes, I know that despite the time of absence I have never ceased to long for thee.’

234

By Yakamochi on seeing a cloud on the mountain-top promising rain in a time of drought¹.

Wherever under
the lofty skies men own
our Sovran's sway,
wherever horse-hoof
trampleth,

or ship is anchor'd,
the chiefest of the
tributes,

the myriad tributes
from ancient days till
these

the land hath given,
doth lie a-perishing—

for days on days
no rain from heaven hath
fallen,

and uplands, lowlands,
with every morning show
but crops a-wilting,

(most sad it is to see)
for water crying
like child for milk of
mother—

I search the heavens
the skies for rain beseech-
ing,

and on the hill-top
above the clustering hi
trees

a drifting cloud
espy, that hither spread-
eth,

a white cloud shining
towards the sea-god's
fane,

oh, God, give rain, be-
seech thee!

¹ A drought began on June 26, 749, which threatened the ruin of the rice crop. On the evening of July 8, Yakamochi discerned the first signs of coming rain.

There is one envoy, a partial echo.

235

By Yakamochi on Tanabata night.

From time remotest,	the lovers twain, embracing
of that great primal god-	and love devising,
dess	their weary hearts would
in heaven who shineth	comfort,
hath Heaven's river parted	but how so be it,
those lovers twain—	until autumnal days glow
across the waters sighing,	must wait the damsel
while vainly longing	with him to have sweet
her fluttering sleeves she	converse—
waveth	a mere mortal
with longings vain she	this wondrous theme re-
waveth,	membering,
for there no ferry	with each revolving
across the waters beareth,	year that each year follow-
were but a bridge there	eth
full swiftly would he seek	as in high heaven
her,	I contemplate the River
and hand hand holding	will I renew the story.

BOOK XIX¹, PART I

236

A Lay by Yakamochi in praise of his white-mottled Hawk.²

O'er many a hill-pass	but as in City-Royal
with hi trees thickly	so in these wilds
wooded	our Sovran Lord he
to far-off Koshi ³	ruleth—
I came through change of	still sad my heart is ⁴ ,
years	nor may I here devise with
to bide here lonely,	kin, nor glance of

kin my eyes may gladden,	and as I hear
my life is weary,	the tinkling of my hawk's
my soul is filled with	bells,
sorrow,	his silvery bells,
wherefore some solace ¹	around the welkin gaze I
I thought to find a-	with joy reviving,
hawking—	and chased is aïl annoy
so towards Ikase	by that sweet music—
where now the hagi ⁵	and in thy sleeping-
bloometh	chamber ⁶ ,
this ruddy autumn,	twin-pillowed chamber,
I ride and rein there,	a perch I put together,
the while the moor	and feed him there,
my men do beat for wild-	my bonnie dappled falcon
fowl,	I feed, my dappled falcon!

¹ In this and the following Book the lays are often difficult to make out in detail.

² The date is April 18, 750.

³ The m. k. is, 'separated by many a steep'.

⁴ As he is everywhere under the aegis of his Sovran, he ought to be equally happy everywhere—still he longs for companionship and consoles himself with hawking.

⁵ Lespedeza.

⁶ His wife's (whom he has now left at City-Royal).

237

On the Pleasures of Cormorant-fishing.¹

Now new year coming	alive with darting trout-
spring showeth all its	lets,
blossom,	where the isle-bird ³
and the wild-wood hills	keepers
resound with streamy	decoy flares in their
roar	prows
of Sákita's river ²	oar o'er the waters

their cormorants a-ply-	the parting gift thou
ing,	gav'st me,
and so the vestment	lo, all its border
thou gav'st me, dear, *at	is wet with river water,
parting	as I watch the cormorants
of deep-dyed † scarlet,	fishing! ‡

¹ The date of this lay, probably by Yakamochi, seems to be the 8th of the third month (April 19), 750.

² Sakita is a river in Etchiiu.

³ The cormorants are called isle-birds.

⁴ Literally, 'eight (many) liquor-dyed'—brushed many times with the dye-brush (dyeing is not done by dipping in Japan).

⁵ There are two envoys—the first dwells on the joy of watching the reflection of the scarlet garment she has given him in the bright waters of the river; the second, on the pleasure of watching the crowd of cormorants diving after trout in the stream.

238

On the Impermanence of this World.¹

Since the beginning
of earth was and of
heaven,
it hath been ever
to mankind plain and
certain
that this our world is
a world impermanent—
as on the heavens
thou gazest shalt thou
note there
the moon now waxing

the moon now waning
ever,
the wooded hill-slopes
all gay in spring with
blossom,
when cometh autumn
with dew and rimy chill-
ness,
thou'lt see aglow
with ruddy fallen leaf-
age—
and so it is, too,

with men-folk, poor mor-	at e'en is turn'd to tears,
tals,	like wind that bloweth
the cheek soon loseth	and no man ever seëth,
the comely tints of youth-	' like water flowing
hood,	delayeth ne'er an instant,
and jetty tresses	all passeth, changeth—
their pardanth black for	the fleeting show lament-
grey change,	' ing
the smile of morning	I cannot stay my tears.

¹ By Yakamochi, April 20, 750. The note of the lay is entirely Buddhist.

239

In Emulation of Ancestors.¹

Our fathers ever	as skilful marksmen
to fathers' duty faithful,	a thousand yards shoot
our mothers ever	true,
to mothers' duty faithful,	or, trusty blade
the days before them	upon strong thigh well-
with anxious care con-	girded,
sider,	the wild-wood hills
that their sons, true	cross,
liegemen,	the ridged hills, achiev-
no empty service render-	ing
ing,	with heart ay constant
stout bow in hand,	their duty bravely,
bow of white-wood,	and name behind them
may well-proved archers	leaving
bear them,	for after times to honour!

¹ The date seems to be the 9th of the 3rd month (April 20) of 750. The lay is after the manner of Omi Okura, but the author seems to be Yakamochi. The curious m. k. in the text applied to 'father' and to 'mother' are explained in the notes to the text.

240

Cuckoo-bird and Blossoms.¹

<p>The myriad flowers, they lend their various beauty to every season, to every year-time give appropriate music, the birds of bush and forest, and eye and ear of man alike are charmed by song of bird and form and hue of flower, but mid the rivalry, while sad I feel and weary, for all is fleeting, bird's music, flower's beauty², as hare-month com- eth³ and lush the bushes show, e'en night-imprison'd the bird he singeth ever⁴, who, as our fathers have handed down to us</p>	<p>from time remotest, belike the offspring true of nightingale is⁵ — he singeth, singeth till what time the girls weave⁶ sweet-flag and orange chaplets, from redd'ning day- break till all the day is over, above the hill-tops in endless ridges rising⁷, the wild-wood hill- tops, he flieth singing ever, the black night tho- rough until the bird affronteth the moon of morning, flying hither, flying thither⁸, he singeth ever, and who shall ever tire of that resounding music?</p>
--	---

¹ By Yakamochi. Dated the 15th of the third month (May 1) 750.

² The text is here obscure : I have given what I believe to be the implied meaning—a Buddhist interpolated reflection on the misery of the world.

³ The month of the *u* bush (*Deutzia scabra*)—the fourth month.

⁴ The *hototogisu* (*Cuculus poliocephalus*) sings by night as well as by day, especially on moonlight nights.

⁵ In a *tanka* of the ninth Book (111) this belief is referred to. 'Among the children of the hightingale (*uguhisu*) is the cuckoo (*hototogisu*) solitary of his kind, his note resembleth not that of his father nor that of his mother.'

⁶ In early autumn.

⁷ So may be rendered *yatsu wo*.

⁸ Of the *hototogisu* Blakiston and Prayer (*T. A. S. J.*), say this cuckoo 'is smaller [than the common cuckoo], its note is exactly ho-tuk-tuk, very rapid in flight and restless, and very active on moonlight nights.' I may perhaps here cite a verse of Logan's 'Address to the Cuckoo', to show that West and East are not altogether divided in their poetic thought:—

Sweet bird thy bower is ever green,
Thy sky is ever clear;
There is no sorrow in thy song,
Nor winter in thy year.

241

Lines from a Daughter to her Mother.¹

As orange-flower	upon the clouds
in cuckoo-month that	that on the wooded hills
bloometh	lie,
sweet 'is my mother	for woesome seemeth
to me her loving daughter,	to me the world, full woe-
but morn and even	some,
these many days I may	to me with sorrow
not	and longing heavy-
her one word hear,	hearted—
for heaven-distant bide I	till on thy face
in far-off marchland	I look, to me more pre-
and gaze indifferently	cious

than pearl that fisher	their verdure keep, my.
in Nago's waters find-	mother,
eth,	'keep' halesome for me,
as oak and pine tree	mother!

¹ By Yakamochi, at his wife's request, dated May 5, 750.

242

A Lay by Yakamochi addressed to Ikenushi lamenting their separation in the cuckoo season.¹

My friend, my brother,	for far art thou friend,
wont were we, hand in hand,	thou art far removed from
as broke the morning	me,
to view the hills together,	and still I love thee
as fell the ev'ning	and fain I would the bird
to watch the skies to-	flew
gether,	o'er high Tonami
ah! pleasant was it	and every morning sang
with thee the gladd'ning	thee,
hills,	amid the pine trees,
the endless ridges	his song so joyous sang
see wreath'd in coils of	thee,
mist,	and every ev'ning
the valley bottoms	beneath the moon still
red with camellia glories—	sang thee,
now yon blithe season	till yon time cometh
is past of bright spring-	when maidens sweet-flag
days,	flow'rs
and cuckoo cometh	inweave for garlands ² ,
to fill the air with music,	sang thee the night
alone to hear him	through sleepless ³
the heart with sadness	nor gave thee surcease
filleteth!	any!

¹ Dated May 13, 750. Ikenushi, who had been with his friend in Etchui, has gone to Echizen—more to the west and perhaps colder, hence the cuckoo would appear there later.

² Early autumn.*

³ In sympathy with Yakamochi's own feelings. This lay may be compared with lay 226.

243

In Praise of the Cuckoo-Bird.¹

When cometh summer	and listen, listening
upon the heels of spring,	until the time shall come
and hills and valleys	when sweet-flag flowers
with cuckoo's note are	the girls with orange
echoing,	blossoms
the livelong night	for wreaths inweave,
through	for all the time he singeth
the air with music filling,	through all the land still
how sweet to listen	echoing
to the cuckoo's earliest	the music's joy increaseth.
note,	

¹ By Yakamochi. Dated May 15, 750.

244

In Praise of the Yamabuki Bush.¹

With love of thee, dear,	of the wild-wood yama-
my very being is filled,	buki,
and now spring yield-	on gathered spray
eth	or on the bush unbroken
more full of love it grow-	to feast my eyes,
eth—	and so my sorrowing spirit
upon the blossoms	to comfort somewhat,

I take the bush and the dewy fragrance smell;
 plant it ing,
 within my garden, still more, my dear,
 sweet bush of hill and still more I think of thee,
 valley, and yearn for thee still
 and every morning more!

¹ The date may be that of the last lay. The *yamabuki* is the well-known *Kerria Japonica*. The idea of the lay seems to be, that though the poet tries to console himself for the absence of his wife with the beauty and fragrance of the *Kerria*, the very means he employs deepen his longings for her presence.

245

A Water-party on Lake Fuse.¹

Come friends² dispel we so endless may our love
 what gloomy thoughts³ be—
 oppress us,
 our hearts unburden yet shall the 'pleasure'
 on Fuse's waters oaring of this one day content
 past Wofu's bay, us?
 where Taruhime's head- still many a year
 land when Spring is rich with
 mid coiling mists shows blossom,
 festoons of fuji⁴ flowers, with glory Autumn,
 and where far under we still will ride these
 in waves white-crested waters
 endless on Fuse's beauties feast-
 the clear flood breaketh ing.

¹ By Yakamochi. Fuse is in Imidzu in Etchū. The lay is dated May 16, 750.

² Or 'friend'.

³ More literally, 'crowded as shadow-deep foliage.'

⁴ The *Wistaria*. The lay is slightly abbreviated by shortening of common forms.

246

With a Present of Cormorants¹.

From City-Royal	and, friend, I bid thee
remote all places one are,	thy lusty fellows summon,
and as the years pass	pole up the Shíkura ²
the pains of life sum up	and nets in the deep pools
away from homeland,	cast thou,
wherefore, to ease thy	while with these cormo-
sorrow—	rants
of firstling cuckoo	in the swifter stream thou
the song let thy heart	fishest,
gladden,	for so, dear comrade,
and with the fifth month	shall fly the months and
let chaplets fair be	days by
woven	and the hours ne'er hang
of orange and sweet-flag	heavy.
flowers—	

¹ By Yakamochi to Ikenushi. Dated May 18, 750.

² A river in Echizen.

There are two envoys—the latter one hopes that Ikenushi may catch good store of finny trout with the cormorants sent him, and that he will not fail to present some to the donor.

247

Cuckoo and the Fuji flowers.¹

In little hand held	and willow-branch eye-
all in the morning's radi-	brows
ance	that arch with every
by some fair damsel	smiling
with cheek of peachy hue	the casket is,

her shining mirror hold-	he darteth hither, thither,
eth	amid the clust'ring
the closed lid under—	, festoons of fuji flowers,
and 'tis on Lidlord ² mount-	with 'quick wings
tain,	' scatt'ring
the twain-peaked hill,	abroad the purple blossoms
or mid 'the shadows	whereof I gather
of deep green valleys	a bloomy spray, and set it
echoeth	in my sleeve set it,
the note of cuckoo,	and if it staineth let it
or nigh the dim moorside	my shining sleeve with
the moonbeams under	purple!

¹ By Yakamochi. Dated May 19, 750. Fuji is Wistaria.

² The first eleven lines of the text lead through the hue of the peach flower and the grace of the willow-branch (Chinese ideas) to the beauty of the damsel, who at her morning toilet holds her mirror, of whose case the lid (*futa*) is implied in the name of the hill Futakami (Twin Peaks or Twin Gods). The word-fancy is untranslatable, and an imitation is all that is attempted of the original. The envoy is no more than an echo.

248

A Lay of Jealousy of the Cuckoo's early song in a neighbour's garden.¹

Within thy borders	mid the fuji flowers
a hollow dell there is	singeth—
behind mine lieth,	
where mid the alder	but in my garden,
bushes	though orange blossom
every morning'	showeth
the cuckoo singeth	nor yet is withered,
blithely,	still cometh not the
and every evening	cuckoo

his lay to sing me, why doth cuckoo yonder
 my fate bewail I will tell you
 not², the tale he will not tell
 yet why, I ask me, me?

¹ By Yakamochi. Dated June 2, 750. He envies the good fortune of his neighbour and friend, the Hangwan (literally 'judicial officer'), Kume no Asomi Hironaha.

² For the cuckoo is hardly due, even although already he is singing in the neighbouring garden.

249

Why singeth not Cuckoo.¹

Though nigh the every evening searching
 valleys, for him the valleys,
 though nigh the wild- to catch his music long-
 woods are, ing,
 no cuckoo singeth, but still no song he sing-
 I go forth every morning eth!
 to listen for him,

¹ By Hironaha (248). Dated June 3, 750. The envoy inquireth why the cuckoo cometh not to pipe amid the wild-woods, for long since hath the fuji bush flowered.

BOOK XIX, PART II

250

A hapless Maiden.¹

A wondrous story of Chinû-one, the other
 of ancient days men tell, of Unahi scion,
 how twain young gal- in deadly quarrel joined
 lants, them

about a damsel
whom either wooed to
wife,
oh! sad the story
to hear, is the story—

fair as spring blossoms,
as autumn glory fine
was she to look at,
a very pearl of maidens,
and in the flower
the very flower of youth,
yet
these gallants' case
bemoaning, far from home
she
seawards went she,
where flowing tide and
ebbing
the fine sea tresses

roll in both morn and even,
and frail as these
her life too scanty was,
her little day
away like dew and rime
passed—
ere death a nook she chose
her
where shall her tomb
be,
and that to future ages
her woe be known
her fine comb² there she
planted,
and as the years passed
a leafy box-bush grew
there
her grave-mound over-
shadowing!

¹ By Yakamochi, after older lays. Dated the 6th of the fifth month (June 15) 750. The subject of the lay is the story variously told by Tanobe no Sakimaro and Takahashi no Muraji Mushimaro in the ninth book (see lays 122, 124, and 125). It was rather the girl's distraction of necessary choice than her preference for one of her two suitors that is here viewed as having driven her to suicide. The version is slightly abbreviated.

² When Izanagi fled from the Eight Ugly Females of Yomi he threw down his many-toothed comb, so tabuing the spot—which forthwith became changed into bamboo-shoots. See Mr. Aston's *Nihongi* (I. 25), where Lang's *Custom and Myth* is quoted, pp. 88, 22, 'A common incident is the throwing behind of a comb, which turns into a thicket'; cf. also Campbell's *Tales of the West Highlands*. The first comb, no doubt, was in its way as great a discovery or invention as the first wheel, and was honoured accordingly.

251

An Elegy.¹

Since earth and heaven
long long ago were parted
ay faithful service
to their dread Lord have
render'd

his lieges render'd,
of whom myself obeisant
from City-Royal
beyond the hills and
rivers

have journey'd hither
to rule far Koshi's march-
land—

though, friendly greet-
ings

may clouds and winds
bear 'tween us

for many a day
I have not seen thyself,
for love of whom

my heart is ever pant-
ing,

and now a runner
along the spear-ways
cometh,

cometh bearing
to me these 'fateful tid-
ings

'Him whom thou lovest,
Sir,

him hath befallen
a desolating woe—
for the world is ever
of grief and misery full,
the flowers that blow
soon wither and wilt and
fall,
and all our life
is but a fleeting show—

thy friend's good
mother
who nursed him he be-
wailleth,

at unawares
her life-thread hath been
sunder'd,
and she hath perished,
whom all men loved to
look on²,

like morning mist
from our world hath she
vanished,

all prostrate lying
like helpless sea-tress
wave-tossed

upon the shore,
for life is like a river,
its flow nought stop-
peth'—

or false these tidings be	I cannot stop my tears! .
or vain I know not	_____
as startling sound they	So hath been ever
to me	this fleeting world of ours,
as twang of bow-string	as all men know,—
touched far-off in the	wherefore let heart not
night-time ³	fail
by archer's finger,	and sorrow be borne
and as I listen sadly	bravely.

¹ By Yakamochi. Dated July 6, 750. The subject is the death of the mother of Toyonari, eldest son of Mukomaro, a scion of the Minami house (one of the Four Great Families) of the Fujihara clan. Parts of the lay seem almost 'common form'.

² See the text; lit. 'of seeing whom one was never tired.'

³ The curious prefatal simile in the text is here somewhat amplified; it is applied as a verbal decoration to *oto*, literally 'sound', secondarily 'tidings', 'word'.

252

A Lay of Complaint from City-Royal.¹

To me more precious	from me to part thee
than fairest pearl that	more cruel 'tis than ivy
lieth	to strip from tree-
in casket treasured	trunk—
of the great god of the	
sea	thy face to look on,
art thou my daughter,	with its pretty ⁴ pencill'd
but the way of the world	eyebrows
obeying,	' like sea-waves ² arch-
thy husband following	ing
to distant march-land	great ships a-tossing,
fares ³ thou—	oh, I would ever

but may not on that face but 'tis a hope too
 gaze, empty,—
 for so I love thee and I grow older daily!

¹ To Sakanohe no Oho Iratsume, the wife of Yakamochi, from her mother Sakanohe no Iratsume. The Oho Iratsume had gone down to Etchû in the spring. The date is the autumn of 750 (Oct. 8).

² Drawn on the foreheads of the nobles and ladies of the Court after the eyebrows had been shaved off.

253

An Elegy on the Death of a Mistress.¹

Of earth and heaven	fate hath us parted,
the gods for sure exist	and now no help I find me
not ² —	forlorn and lonely—
so fair my mistress	upon my shoulders cast I
away from me is taken,	bands sacrificial
sweet Narihata,	and to the high gods
lady of the sounding	offered
loom	fine hempen cloth-stuffs,
(as thunder sounding,	and earnestly I prayed
the voice of the gods in	them
heaven) ³ —	to spare my mistress,
with whom life's ways,	but ne'er again about me
her hand in mine, to	her sleeve shall wind,
wander	the coils of fume e'en now
I hoped my lot were,	are wreathing o'er her
but so 'twas not to be,	pyre! "

¹ Authorship unknown. In a footnote the subject of the lay is said to be an *ukareme* ('light woman') of Etchû, named Kamafunari.

² For though he had sorely besought their aid his love died. The rendering is an attempt to give the value of the m. k. epithetical of *nari* (thunder).

³ Part of the name Narihata and also of the name Kamafu-nari. The *hanka* is worth giving:—

utsutsu ni to
omohiteshi ka mo
ime nomi ni
tamoto makinu to
mireba subenashi.

I thought I held her
close in a fond embrace
alas, 'twas not so—
'twas but a dream delusive
and the embrace was empty.

254

A Lay addressed to Hironari on his Departure for China.¹

From City-Royal,	of Suminoye ³
Nara's well-founded city	upon the prow I pray for,
in wide Yamato	upon the stern
whose hills shine under	like Presence do I pray
heaven,	for,
to wave-beat Naniha	that all the headlands
my lord he goeth down,	my lord may round in
from Suminoye	safety,
to fare across the sea-	by storms unharassed,
plain,	unvexed by gales or seas,
to the distant Westland ²	all prosperously
his Sovran's will to carry—	the Westland shores at-
with awe and reverence	taining
the Presence of the high	may soon his homeland
god	gladden.

¹ In 734 Taijhi no Mabito Hironari (compare various lays in fifth, eighth, and ninth books) was sent as an envoy to China. The author of the lay does not appear to be certainly known, but in a doubtful postnote the lay, together with its envoy and six short lays precedent, is stated to have been preserved (*tsutahe-yomeru*) by a second secretary of the Koshi province, named Takayasu no Kurahito Kanemaro.

² China.

³ Protector of sailors and travellers by sea. The fore Pre-

sence would be propitiative, the after one protective. I am not quite certain that *images*—perhaps only symbols—are intended. Before Buddhism, images seem to have been unknown.

255

A Lay^{*}made on the way up to City-Royal, by Royal Command, to be chanted at a State Banquet.¹

<p>From that far time when on our land descended from the clouds of heaven in fam'd celestial rock- boat,² well-oared at prow, well-oared at stem, belike, the swift god Nigi, and had wide vision of all the lands below thenceforth fair cleans'd and under ordered sway brought— age after age, in sequence still unbroken each sun-successor hath ruled the land and now our gracious Sovran to rule his people cometh, to rule his servants with gentle sway and ordered, nor doth his favour</p>	<p>his people leave ungraced, all prosperous a time unknown of old report his lieges— so on the rolls may ever the scribes the story of royal hands enfolded in happy peace tell, of the wide land allwhere tranquil, while earth and heaven while sun and moon endure, for a myriad ages under a sway unbroken— our Lord and Sovran, in peace and power who ruleth, this time of Autumn the land bedecked with blossoms, he seeth rejoicing, and so this day, with noble feast regaleth and sake flowing freely.</p>
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¹ Date and authorship are not stated.

² The 'rock-boat' in which Nigi-hayahi voyaged down from

heaven to a land 'suitable for the extension of the Heavenly Task, so that its glory should fill the universe . . . doubtless the centre of the world', i. e. Japan. See N. I. 110.

BOOK XIX, PART III

-- 6

A Royal Lay (or Lay composed by Royal Order) on the occasion of the Departure of a Mission to China¹, to be chanted at a Banquet to be given to the Mission at Naniha.

Land of Yamato	may these four ³ ships
shining the bright sky	fare
under!	fare forth in equal com-
o'er thy seas faring	pany, ⁴
'tis but a landward jour-	their passage over
ney,	oar swiftly back to home-
in thy ships sleeping	land,
'tis but an alcove's rest,	then once more will We
so blest the land is,	a royal banquet hold
the god-protected land	and pledge the festive
is! ² —	cup! ⁵

¹ The Mikado (Queen-Regnant) is Kôken (749-70), but the honour was conferred upon the mission at the instance of Shômu (abdicated 748). The chief of the mission was a member of the Fujiwara clan, the Asomi Kiyokaha. Date and authorship are unknown. I have ventured to use the personal pronoun in the invocation to Yamato, though personification is unknown in Japanese literature, or nearly so.

² So favoured and well-ordered that travel is no hardship.

³ One for the envoy, one for his associates, one for their suite, and one for their secretaries, &c.

⁴ That the vessels might not be separated from each other during the voyage.

There is an envoy, apparently by the Mikado, worth giving:—

Yotsu fune	for safe return
haya kaheri-koto	of these four ships to homeland,
shiraga tsuke	white paper amulets
mo no suso ni	upon my robe's hem fastening,
ihakute matamu.	the great gods will I pray.

'White paper offerings' (*shiraga* = *shira-kami*) seems the best explanation. These, like the more modern *gohei*, represented the offerings of white cloth made to the gods from very early times. *Shiraga* is by some commentators taken to signify white (i. e. bright) tresses. But we find the expression in a *tanka* in the third book by Sakanohe: '*yama no | sakaki no yeda ni | shiraga tsuku | yufu . .*', 'on the branches of the wild Cleyera I will hang *shiraga* with *yufu* . .', where *shiraga* clearly refers to offerings of paper attached to a spray of the paper mulberry.

257

On the occasion of the Promulgation of a Rescript.¹

As long as larches,	come wearing wreaths
as larches on the wild-	inwoven
wood hills	with shining treasure
succeed each other,	from orange-bush gath-
as long as pine-trunk	ered growing
lasteth,	on Shimayama ² ,
from well-laid Nara	with girdles loosened
may our divine Lord rule,	come they
o'er all the land	and happy faces
in peace and power rule,	for years a thousand
who now high banquet	to wish their Lord good
to all his lieges offereth	fortune,
who in their com-	a scene right fair to gaze
panies	on!

¹ By Yakamochi. The date is about 752.

² Described as a knoll upon an island in a pond within the 'Forbidden Precinct'—the Royal Palace.

BOOK XX, PART I

258

On the Departure of a Sakimori ordered on Frontier Service.¹

<p>The land of Tsukushi, where long ago strange fires gleamed on the waters², our Sovran's farthest camp is the realm defending against the foe defend- ing—</p> <p>many the lands are to our dread Lord obei- sant and many their men be, but cock-crow Eastland the bravest war-men fur- nisheth to fight ay ready nor ever a glance behind cast, in battle fierce in storm and stress of combat their guerdon earning—</p> <p>so at his Sovran's bidding, his mother who nursed him his young wife's arms he leaveth and home forsaketh,</p>	<p>the days and months of absence in sadness counting, and so to Naniha fareth, where ay the marsh- reeds their plummy blossoms scatter, there tall ship lieth in the haven's calm of morning, there set the oars are and mann'd by sturdy rowers to their oars bending till nigh the stout oars snap, and forth he fareth the rising tide affronting, the billows riding upon the track to West- land— oh, may he safely and swiftly reach his goal, his Sovran's bidding in loyal hero-wise fulfil, and fin'ly his duty all accomplished, unscath'd, a welcome again find in his home- land—</p>
--	--

so prayeth she, setting about her pillow flinging,⁴
 by her couch full jars of sake as slow the days sum
 her shining sleeves and in her love she waiteth,
 ay turning diligently,³ his fair young wife⁵ she
 her jetty tresses waiteth!

¹ Eight short lays, composed on the departure of a *masurawo* (or a number of *masurawo*) to join the Tsukushi garrison as a *sakimori* or frontier soldier, were presented by the Kotori (Buryôshi or Military Commissioner) of Sagami, on March 25, 755. The Kotori (*kototori*) was a member of the Fujihara clan, the Asomi Sukunamaro. Of the eight lays three were approved. The next day Yakamochi (*Hyôbushô suke*), then a high official in the War Department, composed the present long lay which may be either generalized or taken as relating to an unnamed individual, as is often the case in the *Manyôshiu*.

² *S'iranu-hi*, unknown flares. See lay 61.

³ Reversal of garments was supposed to bring out happy visions. See also lay 61.

⁴ Wives, when their lords were absent, remained secluded and neglected their person.

⁵ Or wives, if the subject of the lay be taken as collective, and the word in the text (*tsumara*) literally rendered.

[Near my residence, Wakayama, is the shrine of a Buddhist saint, Myôdô. When I was a boy folk prayed, putting on their garments reversed—an easy thing with Japanese dress—and slept in the shrine, with the happy result of beholding in their dreams the person they desired to see. In mediaeval days in Europe the *chevalier* would leave his worn shirt with his *dame de cœur*, who slept in it with the hope of dreaming of her absent lover. The reversal of the Japanese garment would turn out the inherent soul, who then appeared in the dream. Note from Mr. Minakata.]

259

In Praise of Nánihā.¹

From time remotest and now Her Majesty³
 at wave-worn Nánihā (I speak with awe and
 have ruled our Sovrans² reverence)
 as long tradition telleth, as spring-time cometh

with all its swaying	and in the calm of evening
greenery	with tide a-flowing
and wealth of blossom	men'down the waters pole
the glory of the hill-sides,	them—
and sparkling rivers	and by the sea-marge
the glory of the cham-	where scream the whirling
paigh,	wild-fowl
upon the world	'tis good to gaze on
so beautiful and blooming	the broad plain of the
with pleasure gazeth	sea-flood
her royal heart refresh-	and the white waves
ing—	breaking
to Nániha	and the fisher boats a-
come tribute-bearing	tossing
barges	upon the waters,
in the calm of morning,	for royal fare purveying—
from every land they	spacious the scene is,
come	and rich in all abundance,
within our borders	and well decreed 'twas
the Sovran's sway obey-	in the foretime of the
ing,	world ⁵
the water-ways throng	there should be stablish'd
they, ⁴	Nániha! ⁶

¹ Yakamochi, then Assistant Councillor of the War Department, was sent to Nániha in the spring of 755 to prepare for the advent of the Court in the following year. In anticipation of this removal nineteen lays were composed [by various hands?] and apparently submitted to the Queen-Regnant Kōken by the Kotori of Kadzusa Namuda no Murazhi Samimaro on the 9th of the 2nd month of 7 Tempyo Shōhō (March 27, 755). Of these thirteen were approved, and among them the present long lay and its two envoys (of no importance). The date is 13th of 2nd month (April 1, 755).

² The allusion is to Nintoku (278-99). Nániha is first mentioned in the *Nihongi* under B.C. 633. He is said to have

improved the Ozaka river for navigation chiefly by regulating its affluents. See N. I. 281.

³ Kôken (?)

⁴ *Hori-ye*, channels appertaining to improvements mentioned in note 2.

⁵ That is, under Nintoku.

⁶ The translation is slightly abbreviated. The title might more literally be rendered 'Thoughts'.

260 ¹

Of Ashigara ²	I haste, and there will
the lofty pass I climb,	halt me,
nor cast a glance back,	and pray the gods
for nought deterreth	preserve my homefolk
me,	ever,
not Fuha's ³ pass	as they for me
which yet brave men do	the gods' grace will in-
dread,	voke
towards Tsukushi's	that home once more
cape	me gladden. ⁴

¹ By Shidzuribe no Karamaro (of whom nothing is known). Shidzuribe (originally guild of Shidzu clothiers) is here a mere name. On royal service he cares nothing for the dangers of the road. This lay is written in the Eastland dialect, on which account the Kogi expresses satisfaction that it was not among the six rejected lays mentioned under 259. There is no *dai* or argument prefixed to this lay.

² Ashigara is the well-known pass in the Hâkone district.

³ Fuha was in the neighbourhood of Ashigara, but cannot be exactly located.

⁴ The epithets and epithetical phrases of the text are only partially rendered, and the conclusion is far from clear.

BOOK XX, PART II

261

The Lament of a Sakimofu dispatched to Tsukushi
on Frontier Service.¹

In dread obeisance	in choking accents
to my high Lord and	we speak awhile, then
Sovran	forth
from wife I part me,	I go, but hard
though bitter be the part-	the parting is (though easy
ing	birds' early flights are)
my hero-heart	oft looking back,
is stirred to loyal service—	the way still longer seem-
	eth,
in trim of wayfarer	the hills still higher
upon the threshold stand I	I climb till I reach Nániha
and she who nursed me	where ever surging
would comfort me,	amid the reeds the waves
my mother who nursed me	are,
would comfort me,	and there ship take I,
my sweet young wife a	and westwards in the
space too	morning
detaineth me,	o'er calm seas oaring
'oh ever for thy safety	amid the rising mists
shall I be praying,	and plaining wild-fowl,
home come thou soon' she	I muse upon my home,
sayeth,	and weep and sob
with her fine sleeve	until the very arrows
from her eyes the tears	are on my back resounding.
wiping—	

¹ By Yakamochi, dated April 7, 755. The lay represents the feelings of an officer (*sakimōri*) summoned to serve in the garrison at Dazaifu in the extreme west (Tsukushi).

The translation is somewhat abbreviated through curtailment of common form details. The lay is a curious proof of the unwillingness of the valorous *masurawo* of the eighth century to leave the pleasures of the capital and the delights of home.

Another Lament of a Sakimori ordered on Frontier Service.¹

In dread obeisance	crowd trembling round
to my 'high Lord and	me,
Sovran	and sad their lamentation
on frontier service	as spring-birds plaining,
must I to furthest West-	their shining sleeves the
land	tears
from home and kin	of grief bedrenching
fare—	as their hands I hold, and
	find so
sad is my lady-mother,	so hard the parting—
her robe's hem lifting	fain would they stay me
her son she stroketh	but my dread Lord com-
fondly,	mandeth,
my lord my father	I must obey him,
're standeth by, and trick-	and forth upon the spear-
ling	ways
I see the tears	my feet do bear me,
adown his hoary beard	o'er the hills and moun-
fall,	tains
'like as the deer	the track I follow,
no son but thee have I,	and times a thousand
my only son,	thousand
for him to leave us', crieth	towards homeland turn
he,	me,
'for long long years	and as I fare still farther
never to see each other,	my pain increaseth,
my heart it breaketh,'	and heavier grief oppress-
so with sad in'terchange	eth
of sorrow part we—	my mind and spirit—
the while my wife and	I am but man and mortal
children	

the term unknowing	my dear father ever,
of my days by the gods	my dear mother .
appointed,	in happiness keep ever
and o'er sea faring . .	till I return
across the fearful waters,	and once more see the
still shipway making	homeplace—'
around the capes and	with morn my bark
islands,	is launched on Nániha's
on voyage perilous	waters,
thus as I wander forth,	the set of oars
the god implore I,	are mann'd and forth I fare,
high god of Suminoye,	so tell, friend, tell the
in weal and health keep	homefolk.

¹ By Yakamochi, dated April 9, 755. The lay, with its four envoys, are four selected out of twelve presented by the Vice-Warden of the garrison of Kôzuke an Ohofumihito of the junior sixth rank, Kôzukenuno Kimi Suruga, of whom we have nothing beyond a bare mention in the *Zokki* under date 2 Shôhō (751). It will be noticed that the parents are considered before wife and children. There are four envoys, of which I give three:—

(1) 'Oh, could I but send a token to my homefolk by the clouds that are ever passing to and fro in the sky!'

(2) 'I pick up pearl-shells to send home, though the waves breaking on the strand ever drench me with their brine' (i. e. his sleeves are wet with tears as he thinks of home).

(3) 'When my bark is safely beached under the protection of some island, would I could let my homefolk know of me, but alas I can but long for home nor send there any tidings of me.'

BOOK XX, PART III

263

Lāus Gentis Ohotomo.¹

In that far foretime	and He descended
when oped bright Hea-	on Takachiho's peak,
ven's door,	and god-like Sovrans

o'er all these broad lands
 ruled—

in the forefront set He,
 great Ohokume set He,
 and how of wax-tree³

in his great hands He put,
 and store of arrows

in mighty hand He grasped

(such as the gods use

in chasing of the deer),

and full-fraught quiver
 upon his shoulders

charged He,

o'er hills and rivers

o'er craggy steeps

the hero forced his way

and all the land oped,

its mighty gods appeased,

its men rebellious

compelled to due obei-
 sance,

so was the realm

cleansed,

so was leal service ren-

dered—

in after time

stout-pillared palace

reared

anigh Unebi

midmost Yamato's land,

full-eared Yamato,

on Kashi's wooded plain,

Iharebiko⁴,

and the royal line
 from age to age enduring

the land still ruleth

in straight descent from
 Heaven,

to whom ay loyal

and pure of heart and
 faithful

have the descendants

of that ancestral Sire,

to son from father,

from son to son again,

leal service given,

by their dread Lord's

side fighting,

in uttermost loyalty,

their Sire's service ren-

dering,

and who that lealty

gave handed down the
 story,

and who that story

hear still their mirror

make it—

a name so pure

let those who bear it

honour,

nor any stain

to rest upon it suffer,

ye scions of Ohotomo

live rich in noble service

right well to that proud

name answer!⁵

¹ By Yakamochi, July 19, 756, who in this his last *chōka* may be vindicating the honour of the great Ohotomo clan, to which he belongs, from the aspersions of Afumi no Mabito Mibune, who had insulted a member of the clan, the Warden of Idzumo, Ohotomo no Kojihi. They had both been placed under arrest for some breach of Court duty, and took the opportunity to quarrel with each other, but what about, even the circumstantial *Zokki* does not inform us.

² Ama no Oshihi, the ancestor of the Ohotomo family, who on the rock-door of Heaven being opened by Hikoho no Ninigi thrust asunder the many-piled clouds and descended upon Mt. Takachiho in Hiuga, taking with him Ohokume (Great Troop) the ancestor of the Kume-be. See N. I. 87. Ama no Oshihi = 'celestial pusher-out of the sun'; the legend is, in truth, founded on the name. Or Ohokume may simply be 'the host'. The adoption of this meaning would entail corresponding changes in the translation, without however altering its spirit or tenor. I use 'He' as referring to the god, and 'he' to Ohokume.

³ *Rhus succedanea*, vegetable wax-bush. But the tree or shrub cannot be absolutely identified.

⁴ Jimmu.

⁵ Grand Guard, hereditary defenders of the Royal Palace and Person.

There are two envoys asserting the faithful service of the Ohotomo family from its founder forth.

264

Final Envoy.¹

'Tis New Year's Day	may blessings shower
that ushereth in fair	' countless
spring—	as the snowflakes now
upon our Dawnland	' a-falling!

¹ By Yakamochi, dated New Year's Day (Feb. 2), 759. The last lay of the *Manyōshū*.

End of the Long Lays of the 'Manyōshū'.

A Lay from the *Kojiki*.¹

Princess Suseri to Yachihoko no Kami.

Divine Augustness	my Lord embrace me,
ten thousand spears who	within the pictured cur-
leadest,	tain
of our great land	in softness, fineness ;
who art the Lord and	of warm couch-coverlet
Master,	the softness under,
a man thou art, Lord,	of white-cloth coverlet
and hast on every head-	the rustlings under,
land	my bosom, soft as snow,
of every island,	as snow just melting,
thou hast on every head-	caress with arms as white
land	as bleachen bark cord,
o'er each strand tower-	caress me, and embrace
eth,	me,
a wife thou hast, as tender	thy fine arms round me
as fresh spring herbs are,	thy limbs with mine en-
but I am but a woman	twining—
no man but thee, Lord,	and you, you servants,
but thee none spouse may	my lord bring richest
call ;	sake.

¹ K. App. VI.A Lay from the *Nihongi*.¹

Prince Magari to Princess Kásuga.

In Yashima	that fair maid's door I
now wife to love I found me,	opened,
in Kásuga,	and there I entered,
of blossomy spring-time,	and foot to foot,
minding,	and head to head em-
I heard there dwelt	braced her,
a maiden passing fair	my arms embracing
whose door I opened,	her, her arms embracing

me, we lay there,	the pheasant screamed
and so we slumbered	and dawn of day an-
sweetly	ounced, sweet,
till that the cock crew,	ere half' my tale,
and from the moorland	my tale of love was told
border	thee ² .

¹ *Nihongi*, Ihida's edition, sub. ann. 513.

² O Cressida ! but that the busy day,
waked by the lark, hath roused the ribald crows,
and dreaming night will hide our joys no longer,
I would not from thee.

Compare lay 178, note 1.

SOME MEDIAEVAL SHORT LAYS

The *tanka* of the *Kokinshiu* (10th century) and *Hiyakunin Isshiu* (13th century) may be described as miniature sonnets, consisting of a tercet and a couplet, forming together a quintain. The tercet, more or less rigorously, is a proem or introduction or statement; the couplet a conclusion, moral, answer, echo, summary or exposition—itself often again suggestive—of what the tercet suggests.

Tanka (Short Lays) from the *Kokinshiu* ¹.

I

Of City-Royal,
of Nara City-Royal
alas ! remaineth
nought but the note of
cuckoo
who still his song there
singeth.

II

Upon high Tâtsuta,
the nightingale he waileth
amid the mists
of early spring-time, when
the blasts the blossoms
scatter.

¹ See *supra*, Preface to the *Kokinshiu*.

III

While still the snow lies
the days of spring are
shining,
and now are melting
the nightingale's frome
tears
in liquid notes of music.

IV

All overwhelming
is the wealth of cherry
blossoms
that hideth from me,
the heart of spring that
hideth—
I see but cherry blossom.

V

The cherry blossoms
are like this world too
fleeting,
scarce had I seen them
in all their glory blowing,
when 'fore the spring-
winds fell they.

VI

Those leaves in autumn
by windy tempests
driven!
more evanescent
the days of mortal man are
who in this fleet world
bideth.

VII

The blasts that scatter
the flowers of the spring,
where dwell they?
who knoweth where
let him their lair reveal
me
and I will go and curse
them.

VIII

The showers of spring-
time
are showers of tears of
sorrow
that spring - flowers
fall—
is there a man who weeps
not
the falling blossoms
watching!

IX

The mists of spring-
time
the wild-geese see, yet
hasten
to wing their way
hence—
to their own home, though
flow'rless,
'tis that they love to hie
them.

Tanka from the *Hiyakunin Isshu*.

X
The hoar frosts whit'n-
ing
the Magpies' Bridge I
gaze on
now tell me darkness
is nigh to shining day-
break—
is it the lover-stars'
bridge?

XI
In this fair spring-time
to gather sallets for thee
I wandered forth—
see, see, upon my vest-
ment
white snow is fallen, fallen.

XII
All o'er the forecourt
the wind the blossoms
scatters—
if not of winter,
the snows of passing years
there
that snowy flower-fall
seemeth.

XIII
As deep my misery
as Naniwa's waters are,
whose deepest depths
by bamboo perch are
marked

that soundeth not my
sorrow.

XIV
'Thine arm as pillow
were 't but for a spring-
dream's space
I dare not take me,
alas, I dare not ! ever
my name on men's lips
would be.

XV
How bright the moon-
beams
shine thro' the rifts the
clouds show,
the clouds of autumn
across the heavens driven
by the winds blow 'neath
the sky.

XVI
The thatch is ragged
my watcher's hut that
roofeth
in the autumn rice-
fields,
the dew that falleth
drencheth,
my garment's sleeve it
drencheth.

XVII

Now spring is ending
and summer time is coming,
ing,

O heavenly Kagu—
thy slopes are bright
with vestments
there set i' th' sun to
whiten.

XVIII

O mountain pleasant
long 'are the feathers
'trail'st thou
on' the wooded hill-
side—
as long the nights seem
to me
on lonely couch sleep
seeking.

XIX

On Tago's strand
I wend me forth and gaze
on
the peak of Fuji—
and the firstling snows of
autumn
I see on Fuji sparkling.

XX

Deep mid the moun-
tains
through the ruddy spoil
of autumn

his way he maketh—
the stag whose belling
tells me
what time it is of sad-
ness!

XXI

I search high heaven,
and now above Mikasa
in the land of Kásuga
I know the moon is shin-
ing,
yon moon I see now
rising,
[in a far-off land now
rising].

XXII

The tint of flower,
alas, how soon it fadeth!
how soon, too, beauty
the rain and storm of
time,
as pass the years by,
wither.

XXIII

From high Tsukubane
rise Mina's roaring waters
in wide Hitachi,
in pools not deeper
gathering
than is my love for thee,
dear!

Hokku.

Hokku or *haikai* are half-stanzas (*tanka*) the initial tercet of a complete quintain, consisting of seventeen syllables arranged in three lines, the terminal couplet being omitted, and, in substance, left to the intelligence of the reader. They suggest rather than state a thought or fancy, and often require a world of explanation to be intelligible. They are titles of unwritten poems, rather than themselves poems. But, when understood, they are found to contain, or at least to suggest, an incredible amount of meaning within the narrowest compass of language. The subjoined texts are taken verbatim from Professor Chamberlain's admirable paper on 'Bashô and the Japanese Poetical Epigram', *T.A.S.J.*, xxx. pt. ii, and the translations are based on those there given. The examples chosen are such as seem to require the least explanation—most of them need none.

XXIV

Naga-naga to
kawa hito suji ya
yuki no hara.

In long, long line the
river's flow
traileth o'er the moorland
snow.
(*i. e. making the desolation
more visible.*)

XXV

Hito ha chiru
totsu hito ha chiru
kaze no ue.

A single leaf that flutters
down,
just a leaf the wind hath
blown.

XXVI

Magusa ou
hito no shiori no
natsu no hana.

Bundle on his shoulder bear-
ing,
thro' the summer tall grass
faring
yonder peasant with his load
marketh me the hidden road.

XXVII

*Samukereba
nerarezu neneba
nao samushi.*

Shivering I cannot sleep,
sleepless warm I cannot
keep.

XXVIII

*Yo ni furu wa
sara ni shigure no
yodori kana.*

Like a shelter from a shower
is this world of half an hour.

XXIX

*Hana ni asobu
abu na kiu so
tomo, suzume.*

Sparrow, sparrow, spare the
bees
busy with the flowers, please.

XXX

*Kare eda ni
karasu no tomarikeri
aki no kure.*

Rooks in row, on a branch
all dead,
autumn come and summer
fled.

(A picture of desolation.)

XXXI

*Tsuyu no yo no
tsuyu no yo nagara
sarinagara.*

Just a dewdrop, nothing
more
yet a world ours is, if poor.
*(i. e. poor as it is, it is yet
something, this world
of ours.)*

XXXII

*Natsu-gusa ya
tsuwa-mono-domo no
yume no ato.*

Nought but summer grasses
tall
fallen warriors' dreams recall.
(The vanity of glory.)

XXXIII

*Yo no akete
hana ni hiraku ya
Jôdomon.*

Opening like the morning
flower
wide the gates of Paradise
tower.

XXXIV

*Oranda no
moji ga yokotari
ama tsu kari.*

On the vault of heaven their
• flight •
Dutch-wise do the wild-
geese write.
(i. e. the string of wild-geese
against the sky look like
the cross-writing of the
Dutch.)

XXXV

*Yuki no asa
ni no ji ni no ji no
geta no ato.*

Twos and twos across the
snow
show where early clogs do go.
(i. e. the marks like the
Chinese characters for
two, two, left in the
snow by the two cross-
pieces of the clogs.)

XXXVI

*Ik-ka mina
tsue ni shiraga no
haka-mairi.*

All the housefolk at the
graves
white-haired leaning on
their staves.
(Their turn is near.)

XXXVII

*Meigetsu ni
hana ka to miete
wata-batake.*

Groves of cherry blossom
seeming
field with fleecy cotton
seeming.

XXXVIII

*Yasu-yasu to
idete izayou
tsuki no kumo.*

Softly, softly, falters through
yonder clouds the moon's
white hue.

XXXIX

*Nāgaki hi wo
saezuri-taramu
hibari kana.*

All the day through sings
the lark,
singing still when day is
dark.

XL

*Mizu-abura
nakute neru yo ya
mado no tsuki.*

Lampless on my couch re-
clining,
is not the moon for me still
shining?

XLI

*Shiri-bito ni
awaji awaji to
hana-mi kana.*

Friends, away; keep, friends,
away;
while I gaze on the flowers
gay.
(Let me have undisturbed
enjoyment.)

XLII

*Nuke-gara ni
narabite shinuru
Aki no semi.*

Cicada by its shedden shell
dead in autumn-time—ah,
well!
(Death and emptiness—the
sadness of autumn.)

XLIII

*Nani tori no
kono ato naku zo
hototogisu.*

When away, what bird will
sing,
cuckoo, tell me, what will
sing?
(In praise of the cuckoo.)

XLIV

*Hana no yume
kikitaki chô ni
koe mo nashi.*

I wish the butterfly would
tell
what dream of flowers it
dreams so well.

XLV

*Hyaku nari ya
tsuru hito-suji no
kokoro yori.*

Many tendrils bind one vine,
many wills one heart incline.

XLVI

*Osoki hi no
tsumorite tôki
mukashi.*

Oh, the past of distant days,
slowly summing tale of
days!

XLVII

*Uguisu no
koe tôki hi mo
kure ni keri.*

O'er the spring's sweet day
and long,
closed the nightingale's far
song.

XLVIII

*Sumidare ya
aru yo hisoka ni
matsu no tsuki.*

Mid summer-night showers
through the pines
furtively the moon it shines.

XLIX

*Ama tsutau
hoshi no hikari ya
naku chidori.*

The stars that wend the
skies along
shed their light on a sea-
gull's wing.
(So even the poet may hope.)

L

*Koi-shinaba
waga tsuka de nake
hototogisu.*

If I die, fly, cuckoo, fly,
fly to sing my tomb anigh.

THE STORY OF THE OLD BAMBOO WICKER-WORKER

INTRODUCTION

THE *Taketori Monogatari* is not merely a romance, nor is it simply a tale or *märchen*. It is a novel, the earliest work of fiction in Japanese or in any Ural-Altaic tongue, a novel, too, with a distinct Buddhist purpose, written in a romantic strain and embellished with wonder-stories. The principal personage of the novel is not the 'taketori', the bamboo-hewer and wicker-worker, the story is not told by him, nor is it, strictly speaking, of him; the personage of the story is its heroine, Kaguyahime, the Lady of Light, and the object of it is the Buddhist one, with a Taouist tinge, of showing how a fault may be expiated by resistance to temptation. The Moon-maiden, exiled on earth from her bright home—for the shadow of a thought of love 'tis hinted—by her shrewdness and steadfastness in meeting the importunities and resisting the advances of mortal lovers, including the Mikado himself, yet without harshness, in other words by her native wit and womanly σοφροσύνη, redeems her fault, and, cleansed from the stain attaching even to a blameless sojourn in the lower world, is ready, when the appointed time comes, for the company of angels who descend on a cloud to escort her through the sky to her homeland, the moon.

The maiden is revealed to the Wicker-worker in the hollow of a bamboo, and brought up by him and his good wife with the aid of gold found night after night in the bamboos he gathers and splits for his trade. The fame of her beauty is noised through the land, and she is sought in marriage by a number of noble suitors, five of whom, by a process of natural selection, prove themselves worthier, or rather, less unworthy, than the rest, and are told that he amongst them who shall bring the maiden the rarest and costliest treasure shall win her hand. Two of them offer

counterfeits, one of which is detected by the maiden herself, while the other is revealed through the unjust action of the suitor. The third suitor endeavours to accomplish the task by the lavish expenditure of money, but is defrauded by his agent; the fourth is honest but stupid¹; and the fifth, through ignorance of the Way of Buddha, commits an impious action, and retires from the world in disgrace.

So far Kaguya has undergone her proof with comparative ease. But now the Mikado himself seeks her; she must avoid his importunity, yet without failing in her duty as a loyal dweller in his land. The story is extremely well told, one is almost tempted to believe that the Quests are later additions. The maiden never fails for a moment either in Buddhist rectitude or in earthly loyalty, and well earns the pardon of her offence. During her abode on earth she has learnt the virtue of filial piety—a Confucianist touch—and it is with increasing grief that in the last year of her stay in this lower world she watches, month after month, the waxing and waning of the moon, for she knows that when the mid eighth moon shall come, and the orb shall be at its fullest, she must leave her earthly home and again become a denizen of Moonland. At the moment of quitting her foster-parents the sight of their misery almost overcomes her, but a celestial Robe of Feathers is cast over her shoulders, and all remembrance of earthly things is taken away from her. She leaves a letter of adieu for the Wicker-worker, and of humble farewell and loyal excuse with a bamboo-bottle of Elixir for the Mikado, who had sent a host of men-at-arms to protect her, but in vain, against the Moon-folk. But the Mikado will not touch the Elixir—what is long life to him without the radiant maiden, of whose beauty he alone among mortals outside the Wicker-worker's home, has been favoured with a glimpse. He orders a company of men-at-arms to carry the Elixir to the highest peak of the 'mountain which soars nearest to heaven'—to Fujisan, where it is to be burnt with fire. The Elixir is borne there accordingly,

¹ But see note to the Fourth Task.

and burnt as commanded, and 'men say that the smoke of that burning still drifteth among the clouds of heaven'.

Japanese literature begins with the *Kojiki* or Record of Ancient Matters, which appeared in A.D. 712. During the eighth and ninth centuries various works were produced, none of which, if we except the Anthology, have any claim to admiration on literary grounds. But in the next century the Japanese mind seems to have taken a fresh flight, or rather to have awakened to a consciousness of its powers, and the remarkable series of *monogatari* or romances, of which the Tale of Taketori is at once the earliest example and the type, gave a lustre hitherto unknown to the prose literature of Japan.

Among these early romances, unsurpassed, probably unequalled, in literary quality, by the later fiction of Japan, the *Genji Monogatari* holds the chief place in the estimation of most modern native critics, who scarcely condescend to notice the Wicker-worker's simple and tender story, to the charm of which, however, the Shintô writers of the eighteenth century were fully alive. To European readers, however, the record of Genji's love-adventures soon becomes wearisome, despite the clever dialogues upon the virtues and failings of women, regarded as ministers to men's sensuous or aesthetic pleasures, that relieve the monotony of the narrative—dialogues, by the way, that wear a strangely modern air, and might, with a few necessary changes, be transported bodily into a drawing-room novel of nineteenth-century London, if we may trust Mr. (now Baron) Suyematsu's partial translation.

In the sense in which Shakespeare is said to have had little invention, the nameless author of the *Taketori* lacked originality. Most of the materials of his story are drawn from Chinese or Sinico-Indian sources. It could hardly have been otherwise, for even as early as the tenth century the legends and traditions of his country had been either replaced by Chinese myths or recast in a Chinese mould, and, excepting in the rituals of Shintô, and some of the songs quoted in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* or collected in the Anthology, all vestiges of the unwritten literature of

primitive Japan seem to have been lost. But the art and grace of the story of the Lady Kaguya are native, its unstrained pathos, its natural sweetness, are its own, and in simple charm and purity of thought and language it has no rival in the fiction either of the Middle Kingdom or of the Dragon-Fly Land. The tags of word-plays that close the tale of each Quest answer simply to the 'whereby you may see' of the *Hundred Merry Tales*, while the story of the Fifth Quest, despite its air of farce, is redeemed by its illustration of a world-wide piece of folk-lore. Perhaps, indeed, the Moon-maiden's story stood originally alone, the work of some pious but not too orthodox Buddhist, not disdainful of Confucianism, who shaped a Taoist legend into an allegory exemplifying the great doctrine of *ingwa*, or Cause and Effect, in the maiden's recovery of her celestial home through subdual of the very feeling the indulgence of which had led her to exile, despite the circumstance that a Mikado sought to inspire, and a father to foster, the tender sentiment. In such a story the narratives of the Quests may have been afterwards interpolated, partly, to display more fully the maiden's constancy and purity, partly by way of gentle satire upon the taste for love-adventures which all the early romances show to have characterized the comparatively peaceful ages, when neither Hei nor Gen had yet raised the stormy din of factious arms.

To render literally an Oriental text involves the effacement of whatever charm the original may possess. I have therefore sought to give an English dress to the ideas, rather than to the mere language of the teller of this old-world story. But I have desired, at the same time, to preserve in the version as much as possible of the spirit, as distinct from the structure, of the unsinicized tongue of early Japan; and with this object have reproduced, to some extent, the loosely composite paragraph and sentence characteristic of Japanese prose, and abhorred of Chinese writers, who delight in a terse and antithetic, but bald and artificial style, that too commonly sacrifices wit to an obscure brevity, and loses all

naturalness in the strain after mere symmetry of literary form. I have endeavoured, also, to retain the impersonality which so markedly differentiates Turanian¹ from Aryan speech; but I have usually found this possible only so far as it resulted from avoidance of metaphorical forms of expression. Of the numerous word-plays that decorate the text I have not attempted any explanation unless needed to give some definite meaning to the passages where they occur. The 'honorifics' in Japanese have often little more than a pronominal value, and I have not been careful to translate them when not used to emphasize respect. The word 'mi' is the honorific commonly employed in the text in relation to the Mikado, and is usually rendered 'imperial' or 'august', expressions to which I have preferred the simpler 'royal'. In his preface, Tanaka Daishiu (the Sinico-Japanese pronunciation of the characters with which his name Ohohide is written) says that if you read the *Take-tori* over lightly, it will seem quite easy to understand; but if you want to 'taste' it, you will find it no easy matter thoroughly to comprehend the story, not only because the style is antique and concise, but because by dint of frequent copying the text is not unfrequently corrupt. I have experienced to the full the justice of these remarks, and am less certain now of the accuracy of many passages in my translation than I was at the beginning of my task; it was only after prolonged study of the text that I found I did not always fully 'taste' it.

The date of the *Taketori* is usually placed between the *nengo* Daidô (A.D. 806-10) and Yengi (A.D. 901-23). Moto-wori inclines to a date later even than Yengi. But in *Gengi Monogatari* the illustrations to the then existing MSS. of *Taketori* are said to be the work of Kose no Ahimi (Sôken)²,

¹ On this peculiar feature of Turanian languages the reader is referred to some excellent observations, by Mr. Lowell in his *Chosôn, or Land of Morning Calm* (Korea): Mr. Aston, too, has some admirable remarks on the subject in a paper on the Korean and Japanese languages, which will be found in the *J. R. A. S.*, vol xi. pt. ii.

² Ahimi and Sôken are one and the same person. In Ander-

the writing being that of Kwanshi. But this declaration is not regarded as authoritative—*Gengi Monogatari* being merely fiction. In the *Kakaisho* 河海抄 Kose no Kanaoka and Kose no Ahimi are said to be the same person, but in the *Kômeiroku*, 高名録 Ahimi (Sôken) is said to have been his son, and Kanaoka to have flourished under Nimmyô (latter two-thirds of ninth century). About Kwanshi nothing certain is known. He is said to have been born in A.D. 877, and thus would be thirteen when Kanaoka died (A.D. 898). This would fairly agree with Sôken being the son of Kanaoka, and would go to corroborate the ascription of the *Taketori* to the early part of the tenth century, but somewhat earlier than the date mentioned by Motowori.

The authorship of the *Taketori*, which is far from being a mere compilation, is sometimes given to Minamoto Jun (or Shitagafu), who is also credited with having had a hand in preparing a commentary on the *Manyôshû* under Imperial order published in 5 Tenryaku (A.D. 952)¹. But Minamoto Jun is also said to have written the *Utsubo Monogatari* and the *Ochikubo Monogatari*, the style of both which romances is quite different from that of the *Taketori*. The final result of Japanese learning on the subject of date and authorship is that the *Taketori* was written about the beginning of the tenth century—a hundred years later than the establishment of the Court at Kiyôto—and that it is more likely that Sôken (or Ahimi), the son of the celebrated painter Kose no Kanaoka, was the author than Minamoto Shitagafu, if either of them were.

Of the *monogatari*—thing-tellings—stories, or narratives, or miscellanies, which are considered classical, twenty-seven (inclusive of the *Taketori*) are mentioned, with brief but accurate analyses, in the *Gunsho ichiran* ('Complete View

son's *Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum* (1886) they are wrongly referred to as separate individuals.

¹ He is the author of the famous *Wamyô ruijiushô*, a sort of encyclopaedia of ancient 'Things Japanese'.

of the Host of Writings'), by Ozaki Masayoshi (died 1828), the preface to which is dated 1801. Those which are nearly contemporaneous with the *Taketori*, or which seem to have been composed within a century or a century and a half of its date, are the *Ise Monogatari* or 'Tales of Ise' (tenth century), fanciful love adventures of a courtier named Narihira; *Utsubo Monogatari* (*utsubo*=hollow place, or quiver), a collection of tales of which the first is the best known; *Ochikubo Monogatari* ('cellar story', tenth century); *Yamato Monogatari* (Yamato tales, tenth century); the famous *Genji Monogatari* by the Fujiwara princess, Murasaki no Shikibu, in fifty-four books (eleventh century); *Sumiyoshi Monogatari*, a 'step-mother story' of doubtful date and authenticity¹; *Tsutsumi Chiunagon Monogatari* (story by the Chiunagon or Councillor who lived by the Dike [of the Kamo river, Kyôto], tenth century); and the curious *Torikahebaya*, 'would I could change them'—the story of a father who has two children—a son who is feminine in his ways, and a daughter who is masculine in her's—and does not know how to educate them².

The postscript to Daishiu's Commentary, a good instance of old Japanese work of this kind, is to the following effect:—

In preparing the commentary, Daishiu has consulted many books, noting omissions and faults, explaining doubts and difficulties, either with the help of the works of other scholars or by his own scholarship only, trusting to careful investigation and exercising sound judgement, leaving scarcely any point unnoticed. To those who are not fully acquainted with the *monogatari* the present volumes will facilitate the path to an elegant knowledge of its beauties, and serve as a help to polite learning. In these respects their value is very great. The author showed me the draft of his commentary and I gave him also some help.

¹ Excellently translated by Mr. Parlett, *T. A. S. J.*, vol. xxix.

² Further details on the *Monogatari* will be found in Dr. Aston's *Hist. of Jap. Lit.*, 1899, and in Dr. Florenz's *Geschichte*, 1905.

As to the past as delineated in the *Monogatari* I can only refer the reader to the learning of the author, which is sufficiently attested in the commentary and prolegomena, nor need I add anything more.

By the retired Suzuki Akira (Motowori Ohohira), a man of Owari, pupil of Motowori Norinaga, known as Suzuya no Ô, he died, aged 74, in 8 Tempo (1838).

This postscript is dated 1823 (?).

On the last page of the last volume the 'block-store' is mentioned, Paulownia Garden in Owari, and the date of publication is given as 2 Tempo (1831) :—

From the *Jimmei-jisho* (Dict. of Japanese Nat. Biogr., 1886), I summarize the following account of the Commentator :—Tanaka Daishiu (Ohohide) was a *wagakusha* (scholar in native learning). He was known as Getsu-man (Moon's fullness), also as Jinya ô (the Venerable of the Bean-moor). Born in Hida, he became a pupil of the celebrated Motowori. He was a fine musician and took pupils, teaching them to play on the flute, the flat-harp, and the five-stringed lute. He died, aged 72, in 1853. His edition of the *Taketori* in six volumes, one introductory and five of text and commentary, was his *magnum opus*, but he was the author of other works, among which his edition of the *Tosa Nikki* deserves mention.

THE STORY OF THE "OLD BAMBOO WICKER-WORKER"¹

BOOK I

THE COMING² OF THE LADY OF LIGHT³

Kaguyahime no ohitachi.

It is now a long time since there lived a man who was known as Taketori no Okina, the old bamboo-gatherer. He went among the hills and wastes and gathered bamboos, and used them for ten thousand purposes. Now the name folk called him by was

¹ Lit. bamboo-gatherer, *taketori*, but a basket-maker or wicker-worker who gathers his own material is meant. The story is commonly referred to under the title *Taketori Monogatari*, but the full title is *Taketori no Okina no monogatari*, the Story of the Old Man the Bamboo-Gatherer. The old man who is the hero of the two hundred and third naga-uta of the *Manyô-shiu* is called Taketori no Okina. The form *Takatori* probably signifies a real proper name, *taketori* merely a worker in bamboo.

Taketori, the good-wife, and Kaguya are, of course, purely fictitious personages; the five suitors may, very possibly, have been intended as humorous caricatures of Court personages of the day. The last three of them, indeed, are said to have been historic persons.

² Literally, 'the growing-up.'

³ Kaguya is always written 赫映—Illumer of Darkness. But originally the name probably meant the *hi me* (sun-bright, or royal lady, at first a daughter of the Mikado, later a maid of the royal blood, finally—as here—part of a name) of Kagu or Kago, possibly the hill Kaguyama—Deer Hill, the subject of an oft-quoted stanza, said to have been composed by

Sanugi no Miyatsuko Maro¹. Among the bamboos he was gathering on a certain day there was one of which the stem shone brightly. The old man was astonished and went up to it and looked at it and saw that the brightness came from the inside. So he looked again and beheld a being of great beauty but only a span high. Then he said [to himself]:—

‘Early and late do I work daily among these bamboos where I find this child. Surely I may claim her for my own.’

Then he took her in his hands and carried her home, and gave her to his wife to be nurtured. Beyond all description was the beauty of the babe, but of so tender a growth was she that she was put into a hand-basket to be brought up.

the Empress Jitô (A.D. 690-6) on beholding the mountain bathed in a flood of summer sunlight [some say moonlight]

Haru sugite

natsu ki ni kerashi

shirotake no

koromo hosu tefu

Ama no Kagu yama.

Now spring is ending

and summer-time is coming

O heavenly Kagu—

thy slopes are bright with
vestments

there set i' th' sun to whiten.

In this verse, one of the *Hiyaku Nin Itsushiu* ('A Century of Poems by a Century of Poets', thirteenth century), the writer suggests, doubtless, the heavenly counterpart of the Deer Hill which rises above the ancient City-Royal, Nara. Mount Kagu is mentioned both in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*. Or, lastly, Kaguya may denote the moon, the orb of night.

¹ Or Saruki or Sadaki. Sanuki or Sanugi is the north-eastern province of Iyo or Shikoku, now the *Ken* (prefecture) of Kagawa. Miyatsuko (conf. *Manyôshû*, Introduction, § x) is here merely part of the whole proper name. Of maro, the personal name, the meaning or value is not certainly known. Saito Hikomaro in his *Kata-hisashi* says 'maro was originally a humility-name of the first person, afterwards one of intimacy, and lastly of esteem'. It seems to have been a

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The ancient continued to gather bamboos, and after finding the child he went on gathering them, and as he split them, night after night he came upon a bamboo in whose hollow he found gold. So in time he became a man of great substance.

The child was carefully nurtured and grew apace, so that after only three months she had attained her full stature. Then her foster-parents thought it was time to put her hair up¹, and her hair was put up and she began to wear a maid's kirtle. But she was not brought outside the curtain², her parents doted upon her and tended her most affectionately, so that her beauty of face and form was without peer in the world, and in the house there was not a dark corner,

common name in the Nara period, and this perhaps throws back the authorship of *Taketori* nearer to the Daido (806-10) than Yengi period (901-23).

¹ Anciently the hair of both sexes was allowed to fall in long tresses behind either shoulder. At the age of thirteen or fourteen these were 'lifted' and fastened in a sort of knot on the crown or side of the head. The custom is alluded to in a *tanka* of the Anthology (Book XVI, Part I):—

*Tachibana no
tera no nagaya ni
waga ineshi
unahi bakari ha
kami agetsuramu ka.*

Whom I my love made
within the long-roof'd cham-
bers
of the Flower-Shower tem-
ple—
a tender maiden left I,
her locks she will be lifting?

The long-roofed chambers are the guest-rooms of the *tera* or convent. The name 'flower-shower' is more apt than orange-bush, though so written, if the story be accepted as given in the Kōgi, that the *tera* was so named in honour of a miraculous shower of lotus-flowers marking the completion of a pious task, the exposition of a Buddhist sūtra (*shōmōkei*?).

² The curtain before the *toko* or bed-place; in other words, she remained within her foster-mother's care, unbetrothed.

for her radiance filled the home.¹ Never was the ancient ill or vexed that a sight of the child did not cure him and comfort his trouble.

For a long time the ancient went on gathering bamboos, and became a man of very great substance. When the child was quite grown up, Imbe no Akita of Mimuroto² was asked to give her a

¹ The brightness that illumined the hollow of the bamboo proceeded from the maid.

² Here Imube (Imbe) no Akita is probably a mere name. *Imube* anciently was the guild, union, or artificial clan of *shintō* shrine ritual servants. Originally the *imu hito* (abstainer) was a person vicariously under *tabu*, to whose default was attributed the ills of his principal (Conf. N. I. 42). In the *Nihongi* we read that the old name *kitashi* for salt was *tabu*, because the Queen-Consort's father had died through an intrigue of a man named Kitashi. There were *imu kotoba* such as *kami-naga*, long hair (Buddhist monk), *somegami*, dyed paper (a *sūtra*), *kusabiraku*, a sort of fungus (flesh), *ase*, sweat (blood). At the date of the *Taketori* the *imube* system had not been supplanted by the later magic, *onyōdō*. 陰陽道. In the Anthology, Mimuro and Minoro occur as names of hills; a hill named Mimuroto and two places named Mimoro are also mentioned. It may mean the place of three *muro* or shrines, or underground dwellings. In the *Manyōshū*, Book II, Part I, will be found a *tanka* :—

• Tamakushige
Mimuro no yama no
sanekadzura
saneczuba tsuki ni
arikatemashi mo.

The application of the m. k. *tamakushige* to *mi* is untranslatable; so is the word-play in lines three and four. The first two lines are also prefatal to *sanekadzura*—thus the word-jugglery becomes complicated. The whole is said to express reluctance to leave one's mistress before dawn, despite the danger of quitting her in daylight—"tis intolerable that I should not continue to remain with her."

name, and he named her Nayotake no Kaguyahime—the Lady of Light, the Bending Bamboo. And a great feast was held and the guests enjoyed themselves in ten thousand ways. Dames and gentles came without distinction, and noble was the revelry.¹

¹ The manifestation of Kaguyahime is connected with various Buddhist stories, several of which are given by Daishiu. In a little-known sūtra, *Kwō-dai-hō-rokaku-zenjiu himitsu darani* (Vipula-mahāmani-vimāna-supratūṣṭita guhya-dhāraṇī-sūtra, see Bunyiu's Catalogue of the Tripitaka), the 'Sūtra of the Dharani (charms or magic formulas) of the Pavilion of Boundless Treasure', we read: 'The Bosatsu (Bodhisattva=candidate for Buddhahip; Eit. 26) Kongāshiu, Vadjrapāni or Diamond club-holder (Eit. 159), and Makasatsu (Makābōdhi?) said to Shaka Muni (Sakyamuni) —

"Tell us, your Holiness (*seson*), what is the reason and source of all the *nyorai* (Tathāgata, perfect Buddhas, Eit. 141) in this temple (Hōrokaku)?"

Shaka answered —

"Looking far down the vista of kalpas (a *kalpa* is the life-period of a 'physical universe') we see that in this world (Djambu dvīpa, the triangular inhabited world, being one of the four continents of the universe) the masses of men needed not to plant the grains, for these grew of themselves, destroyed not each other, and accumulated no wealth, but they knew not Buddha. In that land rose a high mountain, the Precious Mountain (Ratnaghiri in Behar, Eit. 103), anigh which dwelt three Sennin (Richis, or Immortals through asceticism, Eit. 103), who were perfect in the ways of Buddha, so that they saw the dēva of the pure dwelling (heaven), and imparted the highest wisdom (*saniadhi*) to men. . . . After a time these three holy men were absorbed into the earth, and there grew there three bamboos with roots of the seven treasures, and stem and leaves of gold, and the branches tipped with pearls, fragrant and pure beyond compare. . . . After ten months each stem opened of itself and disclosed in its hollow a male child of great beauty. Each boy sat at the foot of his bamboo, and after seven days attained perfect intelligence, showing the thirty-two beauties

and eighty excellencies (of a Buddha), together with absolute composure, whereupon each bamboo became changed into a tall and beautiful storied pavilion.”

Another legend is as follows :—

‘In the garden of the King of Rayarei (?) grew a flourishing Dai-tree (Âmra, mango-tree?). In that land dwelt a *Koji* (upâ-saka, Buddhist layman), who was a *bonshi* (a brahmachâri, ascetic brahman), wealthy and of eminent wisdom, and so esteemed of the king that he made him a chief minister. The king gave him an âmra fruit to eat, which the *bonshi* found so good he desired to have a tree of that kind. His wish was granted, but the fruit was found bitter, but became sweet when the tree was manured with milk and butter. Then a branch shot up from a swelling and produced a crown of leaves with a pool of water in the centre amid the blossoms, midmost which the *bonshi* found a beautiful girl-child, whom he took and reared. Her name was Daijo, the Âmra Maid (see the Âmrâdarika-sûtra).

When she was fifteen the fame of her beauty was noised abroad, and seven kings wooed her.

The *bonshi* thereupon placed the girl in a tower, and said to the king—

“The maid is no child of mine, I found her in a Dai-blossom, whether of celestial origin or born of an evil demon I know not. If I give her to one of you I shall incur the wrath of the rest, so ye must settle the matter among yourselves.”

This they could not do, but one of them, King Heisa (Bimbisâra—a King of Magadha, who gave a park to Shaka, and was murdered by his son Adjatas’atru, B.C. 551), mounted the tower and remained the night there.

In due time the girl bore a man-child of extreme beauty, who held in his hand a pin and a medicine bag, and became a famous physician (Eit. Djaraka).

There are variants of the above stories, and other similar ones cited by Daishiu.

In the *Kojiki* (K. 258) we find the curious story of Ama no Hiboko (Celestial Sun Spear), and the woman who, under the influence of the sun’s rays, gave birth to a red jewel which became a beautiful girl, who finally married Ama no Hiboko. See also the Red Arrow story (K. 146). Both these are phallic stories, as are, apparently, so many in the *Kojiki*.

BOOK II

THE WOOING OF THE MAID

Tsumadohi

THE gentles of that time, of high and low degree, distracted by the fame of the loveliness of Kaguya-hime, were at their wits' end how to win 'her or even gain a glimpse of her. They wandered there about the house-fence and lingered near the door, but found it vain to attempt to get so much as a glance at her. So they could not sleep at night, and they went out in the black darkness and made holes in the fence, and peeped through here and there until they became nearly mad. Whereby you may see how men came to say of folk a-wooing that they 'went a-creeping by night' ¹.

Beside themselves at this failure [or treated as if they were not there at all and of no account] they wandered about the fence still, but nothing ever saw they, and though they made to speak to the house-folk no answer ever won they.

They never left the neighbourhood, and while dark grew light and light grew dark many of them thronged the purlieus.

Then, after a time, the duller folk thought it was useless to wander longer thereabout, and they departed and came no more. But others are more to be mentioned, for their passion diminished not, and five these were, who came daily and nightly, and their longing to gain the maid ceased not.

Their names and styles were these. One was the miko Ishidzukuri, another the miko Kuramochi,

¹ *Yobaki* (wooing)—*yo haki* = night-creep—is really only a lengthened form of *yobu*, call.

a third the Sadaijin Abe no Miushi, a fourth the Dainagon Ohotomo no Miyuki, and the last was the Chiunagon Isonokami no Marotada.¹

Now among the multitude of women if men hear of one even a little more lovely than the rest they are consumed with desire to behold her, and so it was that these five lords, in their passion to gaze upon the beauty of Kaguyahime, would touch no food, but inflamed by a continual longing went to where she dwelt, and loitered and wandered about the house, yet all to no purpose, and wrote letters to her but got no answer, and addressed moving verses to her whereto she deigned not to reply.

All their labour was profitless they deemed, yet still they pressed their suit, unheeding alike the snows and frosts of winter and the thunderous heats of summer.²

At last they summoned the ancient, and bowing them before him and rubbing their hands like supplicants begged him to give his daughter to one of them, but he said :—

‘No child of my blood is the maid, and indeed she may not be constrained by me.’

¹ These names will be explained later on.

² Minadzuki—the 6th month, part of July and August under the old calendär. The name—a contraction of *kaminashi-tsuki*—signifies ‘godless month’, because during the month all the myriads of gods were believed to be absent from the world, holding council in the bed of the River of Heaven (the Milky Way or at Kidzuki in Idzumo; confer Aston, *Shintō*) to determine the fortunes of men during the ensuing year. The legend, if not of Chinese origin, is more or less sinicized, and embodies perhaps some memory of the time when the ancestors of the Chinese dwelt about the sources of the Yellow River, the river which they supposed to be the continuation on earth of the celestial stream. Another possible derivation would be *kaminaridzuki*, ‘thunder-month’.

And so the months and the days passed by.¹

At last the suitors returned to their homes. They were full of grief, they offered up prayers to the gods and petitions to the Buddha (or holy men) and so sought to win ease of their woe, but no ease could they win. Then again they bethought them, Could the maid for ever refuse to mate with a man? and again they pressed their suit, and again sought her dwelling and let it be seen more clearly than ever, by their continuing to haunt the place, how bent they were upon winning the maid.

The ancient saw this, and said to Kaguyahime :—

‘My child, my Buddha, thou camest to us after a miraculous fashion, but from babe to maidhood have I bred thee, and that in no unfatherly way, wherefore I pray thee listen to what the old man would say.’

‘Kaguyahime answered :—

‘I know not if I came to you, father, after a miraculous fashion that I should not listen to whatever you may deign to say to me, but this I know that ye are my dear parents.’

‘Oh, daughter,’ cried the ancient, ‘what delightful words you speak. But I am over three score years and ten, and know not whether I shall outlive this day or its morrow, ’Tis the way of this world of ours that the maid should meet the youth and the youth the maid, for so indeed shall thereafter the home increase, and how might the fashion of the world be other.’

But Kaguyahime answered :—

‘Why should I do so?’

‘Because miraculous as your coming to us was,’

¹ Ὅτε δὲ μῆνές τε καὶ ἡμέραι ἐξετελείντο, *Odys.* 14. 293.

said the ancient, 'in form and manner, you are a woman and well might you remain as you are as long as my days endure. But for years and months have these lords sought you, wherefore I pray you to consider their petition and give yourself to one of them.'

'But I am not fair to look upon,' cried the maiden, 'and, unknowing the truth of their love, were I to give myself to one of fickle heart should I not bitterly repent me of it later. Good gentlemen they be doubtless, but ill it were methinks to mate with any of them without proof of his sincerity.'

The ancient replied :—

'The same anxiety is mine, daughter, but tell me with what manner of man would you care to mate; not ungentle lords have they surely shown themselves, in like measure, to be.'

'Just to discover the depths of their passion,' said the maid, 'is no great thing to desire. They have all shown like devotion, and I would somehow find out which among them are the more and which the less excellent. So tell these five lords, father, that I will follow him amongst them who shall prove the truth of his love by bringing me the most precious thing in the world.'

'Tis well,' replied the old man.

As the day darkened the suitors assembled as usual¹, one playing on the flute, another reciting

¹ The rivalry of suitors is a common story-motive all the world over. In the Buddhist tale of the *Âmra Maid* (p. 327, n. 1) a company of royal wooers is brought upon the scene. In the *Manyôshû* are several instances of the rivalry; among the most interesting of which are the lays numbered 5 in the first book, and 122 and 125 (and the story from the *Yamato*

verses, a third singing ditties, while the remaining pair whistled with their lips or clattered with their fans, and so was music made, when the ancient came out to them and said:—

‘I have told my daughter how very grateful we should be to your lordships for thus honouring my poor dwelling these months and years, and I added that I knew not whether I should overlive the day or its morrow, and begged her to consider your suit and make answer to it, to which she replied that she knew not how true your love for her might be,—such was her explanation,—and which was the more and which the less true lover she knew not, and to discover this she promised to follow him who should bring her the most precious thing in the world, and so prove his love. This was the determination she had come to, and it seemed good and such as your lordships would not be displeased with.’

‘It is good,’ they answered, whereupon the ancient went in to Kaguyahime and told her what the lords had said.

Then Kaguyahime announced her will to the ancient as follows:—

‘Tell the miko Ishidzukuri to bring me from India the holy stone bowl of the Buddha; the miko Kuramochi to break off and bring me a spray of the tree that hath roots of silver and trunk of gold and

Tales appended thereto) in the ninth book. Another curious example is the confused but interesting story of the White Hare of Inaba told in the *Kojiki* (K. p. 66), where as many as eighty (i. e. all the) deities wished to marry the Princess of Yakami in Inaba and made Ohonamuchi carry their bag as their attendant when journeying there, but despite all their wooing the lady said, ‘I will not listen to your words. I mean to marry the bag-bearer.’

beareth jewels as fruits, and groweth in the isle of Hôrai midmost the Eastern Sea ; the next one to bring me from Morokoshi a fur robe made of the pelt of the salamander ; the Dainagon Ôhotômo to present me with the five-coloured jewel that lieth in the head of the dragon ; and tell the Chiunagon Iso that from him I require a birth-easing shell brought by the swallow across the seas.' ¹

'These be tasks hard indeed,' cried the ancient, 'such treasures are not to be found in our land.'

But the maiden answered :—

'Why so hard ?'

And, whatever he might think to say, the ancient had to go out and tell the lords what her will was.

They heard him and answered :—

'The lady deigns simply to say straightway that we should do well to depart hence.' So they departed sorrowfully.

¹ The last three of the suitors may have been real personages. If so, the fact would go to prove that the story was composed in the eighth or ninth century.

BOOK III

THE FIRST TASK

THE QUEST OF THE HOLY STONE BOWL OF
BUDDHA ¹*Hotoke no mi ishi no hachi* ²

MORE than life itself did the miko ² Ishidzukuri ³ desire to gaze upon the beauty of Kaguyahime, yet as he bethought him how hard a task it were to win a thing that was to be found only in India, being a man of crafty mind, and reflecting too how vain it were to fare hundreds of thousands of leagues upon the chance

¹ Daishiu expends a good deal of Buddhist learning upon the Stone Bowl, most of which is but of little interest. A Buddhist monk, following the example of the Buddha himself, always received alms in a bowl or dish, never otherwise. In the *Uji-shui* (eleventh century) of Minamoto no Takakuni, in ch. clxix, will be found the curious story of the monk Jakusho. He was present with a number of Chinese monks at an imperial banquet (in China) who all made their bowls fly about in the air to receive food. He could not do so, and sought to excuse himself by saying that such was not the custom in Japan. Nevertheless he implored the Buddhist saints and the Shintô gods not to let a Japanese monk be put to shame. His prayer was heard, his bowl flew faster than any and came back to him filled with food

² The 'miko' were originally 'princes of the nearest kinship' to the Sovran; the 'kimi' were more remotely related to him (Asakawa, p. 67). In later times the title became part of a name merely.

³ The miko, who as such would need no *kabane*, may have been named after his nurse, a common practice in ancient Japan, who, in that case, will have belonged to the family (originally, *be* or *tomo* or artificial clan) having the *kabane* or style of stone-workers (makers of stone coffins). The fraud of the miko is, perhaps, suggested in the name.

of discovering a bowl that was the only one in that vast land, he let it be known to the ancient's household that he had that day started upon the quest, and after three years had passed presented himself at the maiden's abode, bearing a bowl which he had discovered standing on an altar to Bindzuru¹, in a temple among the hills of Tohochi in Yamato. The

¹ Bindzuru is Pinḍola, one of the sixteen Rakan or Arhats (Eitel, 12) who remain in this world to keep perfect the faith of the Buddha.

In the *Butsuzō dzui* (illustrated account of Buddhist images) he is the first mentioned, under the name Hatsuratasha (Bhādravajā—an early disciple), and is represented as an old man seated by the edge of a precipice overlooking the sea, and holding in his right hand a fly-flapper of feathers (to keep the flies off the Buddha), and in the left palm-leaves with sacred texts written on them. There exist traditions relative to this saint which convert him into a sort of Wandering Jew. He offended Shaka and was condemned to live for ever, thus losing his chance through successive deaths and rebirths of attaining Nirvana. Another (Chinese) legend relates that he was buried as a slave, and on the grave being reopened was found to be alive. Yuming (first century A.D.) says 'this slave is always wandering, where he is now no one knows, he never stays in one place; I have myself never seen him'. See some interesting notes by my friend Minakata Kumagusu in *N. & Q.*, Aug. 12 and 26, 1899, and April 28, 1900; also in *Nature*, 1895, 'The Story of the Wandering Jew.'

The saint is always treated as apart from all others, and his image placed on a rock outside the *tera* or monastery. He is known as the Helper and those who are afflicted in any part stroke the same part on his image and recover. Hence his images are usually much worn down. They are painted red, and it may be that Bindzuru is not merely a corruption of Pinḍola but a humorous rendering of *beni-zuru*, rubbed with red, i. e. red-stained.

According to a Chinese work (commentary on the Water Classic, *Suikyō*, written about A.D. 500) Varuna, the Indian Neptune, may be represented by Bindzuru.

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bowl was black with the soot of lamps, but the miko had wrapped it in a covering of brocade and attached the bowl to a spray of artificial blossoms¹. On being shown the bowl Kaguyahime could not hide her astonishment, but as she looked closer she saw a scroll lying therein, which she took and opened, and read this stanza :—

O'er seas and mountains
well-nigh my life hath failed me
in quest obedient—
'tis tears of blood hath cost me²
the bowl I bring you, lady.

Again the maiden regarded the bowl, to see if it shone with any light³, but not so much as the gleam of a firefly could she perceive. So she gave back the bowl with this stanza :—

A sparkle scanty
as morning dew-drop showeth
here vainly seek I—
but to the Hill of Darkness⁴
thy Quest, belike, hath ta'en thee!

The miko, on the bowl being returned to him, cast it away, and wrote a stanza in reply :—

¹ It was a pretty custom in old Japan to accompany a gift with a spray of wild plum, or peach or cherry, in flower. To this day a present to a *geisha* is called *hana*, flower. See *sub voce* 'tamadzusa' (List m. x., vol. texts).

² The last two lines of the text—*ishi no haki no | namida nagare ha*—may be read *ishi no ha chi . . .*, i. e. 'this stone [bowl] has run with tears of blood.'

³ Daishiu tells us that a true Buddha Bowl is of an azure colour and gives out light. So *s'arira*, or relics of a cremated saint, are often supposed to emit flashes of light.

⁴ Ogura, in the district where the Bowl had been found. Ogura probably means Little Grange, but by a word-play is

Thy beauty, lady,
 a hill of shining light is,¹
 hath dimm'd its sparkle—
 let bowl and honour go,
 if but I still may woo thee!

But Kaguyahime deigned not to make any answer. Nor would she listen to anything that the miko got to be said to her, and so, at last, wearied of importunity, he departed. Whereby you may see how men came to say of a man who doeth that which bringeth him to shame, 'he hath thrown away his bowl'².

here taken as 'lesser darkness', 'obscurity'. 'In two *tanka* of the Anthology the hill is mentioned:—

As even falleth
 upon the hill of Ogura
 the stag's shrill cry
 this night is all unheard,
 in sleep, belike, he resteth.

On Ohoi's waters
 the fisher-barks are showing
 their shining flares—
 wherein the hill of Ogura
 a name is, nothing more.

¹ Shirayama, opposite in situation as in (borrowed) meaning to Ogurayama. Originally, probably, it was Shiroyama or Castle Hill. The intrinsic brilliance of the Bowl is obscured by the radiance of Kaguyahime's beauty; as the stars are made invisible by moonlight, says Daishiu.

² *Hachi*, bowl, is written with the syllabic characters of *haji*, shame, the *chi* being 'nigoried' into *ji*.

BOOK IV

THE SECOND TASK

THE QUEST OF THE JEWELLÉD SPRAY OF MOUNT
HÔRAI¹*Hôrai no tama no yeda.*

As the miko Kuramochi² was a man clever in expedients he let it be known at Court that he was going to take the baths in Tsukushi³ and so took leave, but to the household of Kaguyahime he intimated that he was starting on the Quest of the Jewelléd Spray and therefore went down⁴ to Nániha

¹ Hôrai, in Chinese Phenglai, is one of the Three Isles of the Genii which were supposed to exist in the ocean east of China. A legend, probably of a Taouist cast, relates that Sûfuh or Hsûfuh (Japanese—Jofuku) or Sûshe, a magician of Tshi (Shantung), was sent during the reign of Hsihwang, the founder of the Chinese Empire, with a band of youths and maidens in search of these Blessed Isles, where grows the magic *che* plant, and wells forth the fount of sweet wine which bestows immortality upon the drinker. It is upon the seeds of the *che* and upon the gems that bestrew the island-meads that the genii subsist. With the islands is connected the name of the mystic Sungwuki (fourth century B.C.), who is said to have conducted a previous expedition there. Taouist story identifies him with the genie who dwells in the moon, *gettehiu no sennin*. Perhaps Ratnaghîri was the original of Mt. Hôrai—possibly Fujiyama. See Mayers' *Chinese Reader's Manual*, Nos. 641–47; also Book I, note 8, *ante*.

² The name is written Kurumamochi, 'keepers of the royal carriages' (*kuruma*). Possibly, guardians of the royal granaries (*kura*). If Kuramochi was a real personage his name, like that of Ishidzukuri must have been taken from the *kabane* of his nurse's family.

³ Kiushiu, or the west part of Kiushiu, the Isle of the Nine Territories. One may render it Westland.

⁴ By the river Yodogawa.

with all his people. Then he declared that he desired to travel quite privately, and took few folk with him, only his body-servants, and all the rest of those who had accompanied him went back to City-Royal. Lastly, he made as though he had gone on the Quest, but after three days he secretly took boat and returned also to City-Royal. There all arrangements had been made beforehand, and the master craftsman, Uchimaro, with his assistants, six men in all, had been impressed and lodged in a place difficult of access and surrounded by a triple-fence. The miko shut himself up with the craftsmen, and used the revenues of sixteen villages¹, whereof he was lord, to provide for the making of the spray. The spray was made exactly as Kaguyahime had described that of Hôrai. With great cleverness the miko succeeded in conveying the spray secretly to Nániha. There he took boat and returned to City-Royal and sent word thereof to his mansion and appeared in the guise of a wayworn and wearied traveller. Many [of his people] went to meet him, and they put the spray into a Chinese coffer and covered the coffer with a [silken] cloth and bore it with them. 'An unheard-of wonder' they shouted, 'the miko Kuramochi hath gotten the Udonge² flower and bringeth it to City-Royal.' Now Kaguyahime heard of this thing and her heart wellnigh broke as she thought to herself that she would, perforce, have to yield herself to the miko.

¹ The text here is very obscure, probably corrupt. I have done my best with it.

² The Udumbara, or *Ficus glomerata*. The flowers, which almost require a botanist to detect them, as in all figs—'flowerless fruit' as the Chinese commonly call them to this day—are fabled to appear but once in a thousand years.

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In due course a knocking was heard at the gate of the maiden's abode, and it was announced that the miko Kuramochi had arrived.

'I have come in my wayfarer's garb,' he declared, adding:—

'At the risk of my life have I won this spray. I beg that it may be presented to Kaguyahime.'

The ancient thereupon took the jewelled spray and carried it within.

A scroll was attached to the spray whereon a quintain was written:—

Though vainly risk'd I
my very life risk'd vainly
this jewelled Spray
on Hôrai's tree unplucked
how could I leave and see thee.

While Kaguyahime was wondering at these lines the ancient entered her chamber hastily, and said:—

'The miko hath brought you the spray you commanded of him, 'tis just such as you described, failing in no particular, and whatever you do you cannot say this or that [you must make up your mind to accept him]. He has come in his wayfarer's dress without even resting at his own mansion, and delay you must not, daughter, to accept his suit.'

Kaguyahime answered nothing, but sat there with her chin on her hand, sad and sorrowful.

Thinking that no opposition would now be made, the miko began to mount the steps that led to the porch-floor. The ancient, who thought the miko's request reasonable, said to Kaguyahime:—

'Never in this land hath such a jewelled spray as this been seen. How can you now refuse to see him, daughter; moreover, 'tis a goodly man.'

The maiden answered:—

‘It was a great grief to me to seem to refuse so obstinately to listen to what my father said, wherefore I spoke of getting for me some precious thing that were difficult to win, but I am disappointed not a little that it has been gotten so easily.’

For a space the ancient was silent, arranging the chamber the while. Then he [went out and] said to the miko:—

‘Your servant would fain know what manner of place it may be where groweth this tree—how wonderful a thing it is, and lovely and pleasant to behold!’ And the miko answered: ‘The year before yester-year, on the tenth of the second month (*kisaragi*), we took ship at Naniwa and fared out into the open sea, not knowing what track to follow; but I thought to myself, What were the profit of life, if I might not attain the desire of my heart? So pressed we onwards, blown whither the wind listed. If we perished even, what mattered it; while we lived we would make what way we could over the sea-plain, and perchance thus might we somehow reach the mountain men called Hôrai. So resolved, we fared further and further over the heaving waters, until far behind us lay the shores of our own land. And as we wandered thus afar, now deep in the trough of the sea—we saw its very bottom belike; now blown by the gale, we came upon strange lands, where creatures like demons fell upon us and were like to have slain us; now, knowing neither whence we had come nor whither we tended, we were almost swallowed up by the sea; now, failing of food we were driven to live upon roots; now, again, indescribably terrible beings came forth and

would have devoured us ; or we had to sustain our bodies by eating of the spoil of the sea. Beneath strange skies were we, and no human creature was there to give us succour ; to many diseases fell we prey as we drifted along knowing not whitherwards, and so tossed we over the sea-plain, letting our ship drift before the wind for five hundred days. Then, about the hour of the dragon, four hours ere noon, saw we a high hill looming faintly over the unknown watery waste. Long we gazed at it, and marvelled at the majesty of the mountain rising out of the sea. Lofty it was and fair of form, and doubting not it was the mountain we were seeking, our hearts were filled with awe. We plied the oar, and coasted it for two days or three, and then we saw a woman, arrayed like an angel, come forth out of the hills, bearing a silver vessel, which she filled with water at a fount. So we landed and accosted her, saying : " How call men this mountain ? " and she said, " 'Tis Mount Hôrai," whereat our hearts were filled with joy. " And you who tell us this, who then are you ? " we inquired. " Myname is Hôkanruri ¹," she answered, and thereupon suddenly was lost among the foot-hills. On scanning the mountain we saw no man could climb its slopes, so steep were they, and we wandered about the foot thereof, where grew trees bearing blooms the world cannot show the like of. There we found a stream flowing down from the mountain, the waters whereof were rainbow-hued, yellow as gold, white as silver, blue as precious ruri ; and the stream was spanned by bridges built up of divers gems, and by it grew trees laden with dazzling jewels,

¹ Hoka~~n~~ruri, a Buddhist compound = treasure-crowned ruri stone.

and from one of these I broke off the spray which, I make bold now to offer to the Lady Kaguya. An evil deed, I fear me, but how could I do otherwise than achieve the task laid upon me? Delightful beyond all words is yonder mountain, in all the world there existeth not its like. After I had broken off the branch, my heart failed within me and I hastened on board, and we sped before a fair wind and after some four hundred days we came to Naniwa, whence but yesterday, so great, belike, was my desire, I set out for City-Royal, and now have I hastened here without even changing my wayfarer's vestments, all soddened with sea-water though they be.' .

The miko's story moved the ancient to tears as he listened, and he made a quintain:—

For years and years
bamboos in this world of darkness,
mid wastes and mountains
have I long hewed, but never
so sad a time-joint known.¹

When the miko heard these lines he said, 'Now is the bitterness of dolorous days gone, now do I know peace in my heart.' And he made a quintain in answer:—

My sleeves with tears wet
this day are dried, this day still'd
lie all my fears low—
a thousand thousand sorrows
behind me fade forgotten.

Just at this moment a company of men entered the fore-court. Six men filed in, and one at their head

¹ The integnode (*fushi*) of a bamboo, by a word-play, suggests a passage in life.

bore a bamboo in the split end whereof was held a scroll. He said :—

‘Ayabe no Uchimaro, *takumi* (architect, or designer, or foreman) of the *tsukumodokoro* (construction) office says : We have broken our hearts with labour and for over a thousand days have exhausted our strength in making a jewelled spray as commanded, but no wage has been bestowed upon us and we desire to receive it for the support of our families.’

He then presented the scroll.

The ancient, Taketori no Okina, doubted what these words might mean. But the miko became as one beside himself and looked as if his very liver had perished within him.

When Kaguyahime heard of these things she commanded that the scroll should be accepted, whereupon it was received and opened and read. And on it was written what follows :—

‘His lordship the miko shut himself up in the same place with a number of mean craftsmen, for more than a thousand days and caused a fine jewelled spray to be made, promising that he would confer promotion.¹ We have heard that the Lady Kaguyahime is about to espouse his lordship and that the spray was her great desire, therefore we have come to this mansion thinking that here we should receive our due.’

On hearing of this request the Lady’s face which had been clouded with anxiety broke into a smile, and she called for the ancient and said to him :—

‘So you thought this a true Jewelled Spray of Hôrai—wretched counterfeit as it is, take it and return it to its forger.’

The ancient answered :—

¹ This appears to be the meaning of the text.

‘As we have just heard that it is certainly false, of course it must be returned,’ nodding his head in assent as he spoke.

Then Kaguyahime, the load now lifted from her heart, composed this quintain:—

The tale I hearkened,
or true or false I wondered,
mere words it was,¹
as false as are the jewels
this sorry spray adorn.

And with it was the jewelled spray delivered to the miko.

The ancient, remembering what he had said about the spray, closed his eyes and could not utter a word.

The miko stood there awhile, half inclined to go, half to stay. At last, as day was darkening, he slunk off and disappeared.

Then Kaguyahime summoned the craftsmen who had caused this trouble, and said:—

‘I am much pleased with you men,’ commanding that they should be liberally paid. They were greatly delighted, and went away, saying that they knew they would be thus treated.²

But the miko Kuramochi caused the craftsmen to be punished, and beaten on their return until the blood flowed. The wage they had received from

¹ In the text there is a play upon *ha*, ‘leaf’ or ‘leaves’, fancifully used by Tsurayuki in his preface to the *Kokinshū*, of which a translation follows this section of the present work, to signify ‘words’ or ‘language’, *koto no ha*.

² The craftsmen only knew that the spray was destined for Kaguyahime—that it was a fraud on the part of the miko they were unaware.

the Lady Kaguyahime profited them nothing, they were despoiled of the whole of it, and so fled away and disappeared.¹

This shame was the greatest that ever fell upon the miko during the whole of his life. It was not only that he did not win the Lady, but he felt that men looked down upon him, and he sought a retreat amid the depths of the hills. The retainers and servants of the Court divided themselves into bands and sought for the miko in all directions, but whether he were dead or not they could not discover. He concealed himself so well, even from his body-servants, that for years nothing was seen of him.

Whereby it may be understood how men came to say 'tamazakaru'² of one parted from his wits, like the miko Kuramochi.

BOOK V

THE THIRD TASK

THE QUEST OF THE ROBE OF SALAMANDER FUR

Hinedzumi no kahagoromo

THE Udaijin Abe no Miushi³ was a lord of great wealth and ample household. In that year [of the

¹ To complain, with whatever justice, of the act of a superior was a crime in old Japan. Conf. Viscount Hayashi's remarkable book, *For His People*.

² By word-play, *tama-zakaru* may mean 'precious' or 'gem-blossom', in allusion to the *tama no yeda* (Jewelled Spray), or 'parted from one's wits'.

³ Or Sadaizhin Abe no Murazhi. Daizhin or Ohe-omi is Great Minister, Sadaizhin, Left or Superior, Udaizhin, Right or

wooing] he wrote a letter to one Wôkei,¹ who had come by ship from the land of Morokoshi², wherein he required him to buy for the Udaijin a Robe of Salamander Fur,³ and among his housefolk he chose a trusty retainer named Onono Fusamori and charged him with the letter.

Ono bore the letter accordingly to Wôkei and gave it to him, together with gold. Wôkei read the letter and answered:—

‘The Robe of Salamander Fur is not to be found in my country. I have heard of, but never yet seen such a thing. If it exists anywhere in the world I will do my best to bring it to this country. It will, however, be a hard job. Still, to India, by some chance, such a robe may have been brought, and it may be possible to procure it through the great merchants⁴ who trade there. If not, your retainer can bring back the gold you have sent.’

Inferior Great Minister; Murazhi is a *kabane*. *Opi* and *murazhi* were the higher, *tomo no miyatsuko* and *kuni no miyatsuko* were the lower ranks of high officials—the former, ministers or councillors, the latter, administrators. This is, of course, only a general description (see Asakawa, 67–70, &c.). Abe no Miushi is said to have been a real personage. In the *Zoku Nihongi* under third year of Mommu, we read of the death of Abe no Asomi Miushi. Then the Sadaizhin was Tajiki no Shima no kami. *Mura* = district, *zhi* is the *zhi* or *shi* of *aruzhi* = *nushi*, master?

¹ Wôkei is a purely Chinese name.

² Morokoshi is an old Japanese name for China, of uncertain derivation.

³ Lit. ‘of fire-rat,’ *hi-nezumi*. Daishiu gives no information concerning this fur. Perhaps the reference is to the asbestos-cloth mentioned in Yule’s *Marco Polo*, as a product of the country lying on the northern frontages of China.

⁴ *Chiyaazhiya* (*chôja*), a Buddhist term. A mother, telling

After a time the ship came back ¹ from Morokoshi. When the Udaijin heard that Ono, his retainer, was ready to start for City-Royal he took a swift horse and caused it to be sent in haste to meet him, so that he was able to reach the capital, riding from Tsukuski, in only seven days.

He brought with him a letter from Wôkei, which the Udaijin unrolled and read as follows:—

‘After much labour and sending a man in quest of the Robe have I succeeded in procuring the same. Now, as of old, it has been no easy thing to find a salamander fur. But a good time ago a learned sage came to this land from India, bringing one with him. I heard that it was kept at a temple among the western hills [of China], and after great difficulty, and with the help of the officials of that land, I was able to buy the Robe. The money you sent was not enough to pay the price, so after consultation with the authorities and with your messenger I added money of my own and bought the Robe. So that now you ought to send me fifty gold ryô. I beg that the money be sent me by return of the ship [to China], if not the money, that the Robe be given as a pledge therefor.’

‘What does this mean!’ said the Udaijin to himself, ‘the money is but a small matter, it shall be sent at once, I am very glad Wôkei has sent the Robe.’

Then he turned his face towards the land of Morokoshi and bowed him humbly.

her son to follow the founder of the Han dynasty (‘Liu Pang’, *Mayers’ Manual*, No. 414), called the latter *chôja*, as having the honesty and sagacity of a merchant prince.

¹ Perhaps to Hakata in Chikuzen, a favourite resort of Chinese traders in early times.

On looking at the casket containing the Robe this was seen to be curiously wrought with flat inlaid work of different kinds, of fine *ruri*¹. The Robe itself was of a violet colour, the tips of the hairs of the fur iridescent with gold, truly a precious treasure it appeared to be and without its like in the whole world. Even its fire-proof quality paled before its rare beauty.

'Tis a splendid gift' cried the Udaijin, 'surely Kaguyahime will admire the Robe!'

So saying, he cried 'ana kashiko!' (how fine?) He put the Robe back into the casket which he fastened to a blossomy spray, and after carefully powdering his face and dressing himself elegantly set out for the ancient's home, where he deemed he must certainly be allowed to remain, wherefore he attached a scroll to the spray, on which was written this quintain:—

Of this Fur Robe
in quenchless flame of passion
the sleeves are dry—
and thou to-day mayest, Lady,
look on the Fur Robe famous!

¹ The Chinese preferred jade to jewels, and the Japanese preferred wavy agate and cornelian. Of the gems prized in the West very few are found in the Far East, nor do the Chinese or Japanese know how to cut them. Daishiu says the *ruri* was a gem of which ten kinds were found in the Ta Tshin land, by some supposed to be the Roman Empire, by others the countries lying south and west of China—Syria? Persia? Perhaps varieties of turquoise or *lapis lazuli* are covered by the name. *Ruri* has also been identified with the emerald, and Dr. Williams, in his Chinese Dictionary, says it is the Sanskrit *vaidurya*, one of the *sapta ratna* or seven treasures of Buddhism (Eitel, *sub voce*), which seems to be *lapis lazuli*, or possibly 'clear green jade. Lastly, coloured glass or enamel may be intended.

When the Udaijin reached the gate of the fore-court, the ancient came out and took the Robe and carried it within to show to Kaguyahime, who, after looking at it, said:—

‘It seems a beautiful fur, indeed, but no one knoweth for certain whether it be a true salamander fur or not.’

The ancient answered:—

‘Looking at the matter this way or that way, we must first of all invite this lord to enter; the fur hath all the look of being an incomparable treasure, therefore receive it, daughter, nor, I pray thee, trouble men-folk so.’

He then asked the Udaijin to enter, and ancient and dame now deemed she must accept him.

For long had the ancient bewailed her unmarried state, and desired to give her to some man worthy of her, but she had continually refused, yet it was unreasonable to force her will.¹

‘If this Robe on being cast into the flames should not be consumed,’ she exclaimed, ‘then, methinks, will it be proved to be of true salamander fur, and if it be an incomparable treasure, as is said, it may well be put to the test of fire, and so you may tell this lord.’

The ancient agreed, and went out to tell the Udaijin what she said.

But Abe no Miushi answered:—

‘What doubt can there be about the Robe, which was not to be found even in Morokoshi and cost such

¹ Daishiu reflects on the contrast between the timidity of Abe and the boldness of Kuramochi. It will be observed that the Wicker-worker pleads for each suitor in turn, in his anxiety to see Kaguyahime married.

a world of labour to discover? Nevertheless, since the Lady so willeth, let it be put to the test of fire.¹

Then the Robe was cast into the flames and was burnt up in a trice. So was it shown to be nothing more than a counterfeit.

When the Udaijin saw that the Robe perished in the fire, his face turned grey as a withered leaf. Kaguyahime uttered an exclamation of delight, 'ana ureshi!' [how delightful!], and composed a quintain in answer to the one offered by the Udaijin, which was placed in the casket returned to that lord, empty of its Robe.

Hadst thou but known
that any flame would burn it
nor leave a vestige—
afar from love's fires would'st thou
yon Robe have better guarded.¹

Whereupon the Udaijin departed.

After these things when men inquired whether Abe the Otodo² had gotten the Robe of Salamander Fur and so won the Lady, they were told that the Robe had been cast into fire and there perished, wherefore the Udaijin had not won the Lady. When men heard this tale they cried 'Ha, abenashi!', whereby you may know how men came first to speak of an adventure that faileth as 'abenashi'³.

¹ Alluding to the Daijin's stanza, in which he pretends that the flame of his passion has dried his tear-drenched sleeve.

² Otodo is *oho omi*, great minister.

³ *Abenashi*, 'not-Abe', or 'Abe is nought', involves a word-play—*Abe nashi* = *ahenashi* = *togenashi*, unsuccessful.

BOOK VI

THE FOURTH TASK

THE QUEST OF THE JEWEL IN THE DRAGON'S
HEAD*Tatsu no kubi no tama*

THE Dainagon Ohotomo no Miyuki¹ called together the men of his household and said to them :—

‘In the head of the Dragon there lieth a jewel sparkling with the five colours,² and to him who winneth me that jewel shall nothing be refused that he may desire.’

His men listened respectfully to their lord’s words and answered :—

‘Our lord’s words are most gracious, but to win

¹ Said to have been a real personage. The Nagon, we read in the *Wamiōsho* of Minamoto Shitagafu, were *ohohi monomafusu hito*—chief speakers, i.e. Royal Councillors (N. II. 347, n.) The Ohotomo, ‘Great Clan’ or ‘Great Guards’, were of higher lineage than the Mikado himself, for their ancestor was Ama no Oshihi, a brother of the ancestor of Izanagi and Izanami, and a grandson of the Great Mid-sky Master, according to the earliest version of the Sun Legend. There was an Ohotomo no Miyuki who flourished in the early part of the eighth century and is identified with the Ohotomo no Kiyofu mentioned frequently in the *Anthology* (q. v.).

The three great clans were, on the accession of Jimmu, (1) Mononobe, or soldier-caste, who guarded the interior of the palace. Their ancestor was Umashimade no mikoto. (2) Ohotomobe, or great guards, whose ancestor was Michi no Omi no mikoto. (3) Kumebe, or army caste, whose ancestor was Ohokume no mikoto. The clans (2) and (3) guarded the exterior of the palace. The power of all these clans was overthrown by the Fujihara family in the seventh century.

² More literally, ‘with the splendour of the five colours’.

yonder jewel were no light task, belike. How may one draw forth a jewel from the very head of the Dragon'.

Whereupon the Dainagon exclaimed :—

'As your lord's men you must accomplish whatever he bids you do, even at the risk of your lives. What I desire is not something not to be found in this land of ours, nor is it something to be sought in India or China. The Dragon is a creature that climbs the hills out of our own seas and descends into the sea from our own hills¹; why, therefore, should ye shirk the task as no light one?'

To which his retainers replied :—

'After what our lord says there is no help for it, hard though the task be. We must not refuse to do his bidding, and therefore will we undertake the Quest.'

The Dainagon smiled approvingly, and added :—

'How should you oppose your lord's will and cast a slur upon his name, seeing that ye are his men.'

Then he set about making ready to take the jewel in the Dragon's head. To provide food for his men he used all that he had in his mansion, silk cloths.

¹ The Chinese belief was that a kind of hornless dragon in climbing the hills crumbled them into dust. This was an explanation of landslips and earthquakes. On descending into the sea he caused waterspouts, to this day known in Japan as *tatsu no maki*, 'dragon-whirls.' The 'New Cut', *imagire*, which was the result of an earthquake in 1499, and connected Hamana no Mizu-umi (near Hamamatsu) with the sea, was attributed to the action of a peculiar dragon called *hora*, but *hora* is a gigantic whelk, and as my friend, Mr. Minakata, suggests, the story may be due to the exposure of fossil-shells as a result of the earthquake.

and floss and coin ¹. And he said: 'Until they return I will live under *tabu*, but let them not return without having won the Jewel.'

His men were so told, and they listened and departed. 'We must not return without the Jewel, he saith,' they cried among themselves, and they wandered aimlessly wherever their feet bare them, railing at their lord's whimsy, and, at last, after dividing among them what their lord had provided for the Quest, they separated, some going to stay in their own homes, some wherever they listed.

Now they railed at the Dainagon because he had commanded them a foolish thing, which neither father on his children nor lord on his men ought to impose.

Meanwhile the Dainagon bethought him that no ordinary lodging would be meet to receive the Lady Kaguya, wherefore he caused a beautiful pavilion to be erected, well lacquered within and adorned with designs in gold, silver, and coloured enamel, even the roof was thatched with parti-coloured silks ², and the chambers were furnished in a manner words cannot describe; in every room were patterned tapestries whereon were painted many fair pictures.

All his women, too, he dismissed, for he felt assured

¹ Silk cloth was used as a sort of currency in archaic Japan. In the *Konjaku Monogatari* (a collection of Japanese, Chinese, and Indian stories, in sixty volumes, by Minamoto no Takakuni, d. 1077), we read of a servant selling his master's widow for silk stuffs.

² Or decorated with bands of silk. A hyperbolic expression, reminding one of the 'tiled with lapis-lazuli (*ruri*)', found as descriptive of a lordly mansion, even in a sober history like the *Continuation of the Nihongi* [*Zoku Nihongi*]. See also 'Streets paved with Jewels' in the *Hōjōki* (*Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, April, 1905).



From an old, probably seventeenth-century, wood-block representing the storm described in the 'Quest of the Dragon-Jewel'. In the upper air the thunder-god (Chinese) is busy beating his drums.

of winning the Lady, and the days and the night he passed alone.

Day and night, too, he awaited the return of the men he had sent upon the Quest, but years [or, a year] passed and he got no word of them. At last he felt wearied at heart, and taking but two of his servants with him, very privily he went down the river to Nániha, and there made inquiry :—

‘Hath any one heard whether the Dainagon’s men have gotten the Jewel they took ship to win?’

But the fisher-folk only laughed and answered :—

‘What strange talk is this? No ship hath gone forth upon such an errand.’

‘Cowardly folk these sailors are, to be sure!’ cried the Dainagon. ‘Of bold deeds they know nothing. I myself will bend the bow, and let fly the shaft, and slay the dragon, if dragon I meet, and so win the Jewel that lieth in his head, nor will I longer wait for those laggard fellows of mine.’

So ship he took and sculled forth over the sea in this direction and in that, and so was he oared far beyond distant Tsukushi.

Then, somehow or other, a great wind blew, and the air grew dark and the ship drave. The ship drave midmost the ocean, one knew not where, the wind whirled, and the waves rose and towered over the boat and were like to swamp it, and the [thunder-] god roared¹ as he would strike the ship, and the

¹ The illustration, a common one in Japanese representations of the thunder-god, is of Chinese origin. It was believed that the stroke of the god’s hammer caused the ‘clap’, the vibration of the drums the ‘roar’, and the simultaneous combination of both, the ‘bolt’ which slew men. There is some truth of observation here, for the simultaneity mentioned would involve proximity of the electric discharge.

Dainagon was sick with fear, and cried out 'What will become of me, never have I been in such dreadful peril'.

The steersman heard him and said :—

'Times and again have I oared among these waters, but so fearful a storm as this never have I seen. If the ship founder not, we shall be struck by the thunderbolts of the god, if by good hap and the god's grace we escape those perils we shall be driven far south amid barbarian seas. Woe worth the day I took service under so ill-advised a lord; I never thought to die such a death as this!'

He burst into tears as he spoke, but the Dainagon reproved him, saying :—

'When on shipboard one leans upon the steersman as upon a great hill. What mean these helpless words thou speakest?'

A fit of sickness interrupted the Dainagon, and the steersman answered :—

'No god am I, what can I do. The winds blow and the waves roar, and the [thunder-] god, too, will hurl his thunderbolts upon us, belike, because you are seeking to slay the dragon—for, be sure, the storm is the dragon's work, and well it were that no time be lost in making supplication to the god.'

'Thou sayest well,' cried the Dainagon. 'Hearken my prayer, O god of seafolk, in my folly and frowardness have I sought to slay the Dragon, but now, I vow, no single hair of him will I dare to ruffle.'

So the Dainagon prayed sometime, weeping and calling upon the god a thousand times, when, suddenly—was it not in answer to his prayer!—the thunder began to die down, and the gloom to lift, but still a mighty wind blew.

'Tis the work of the Dragon, for certain,' cried the steersman, 'the wind that bloweth is a fair wind, 'tis no foul wind, it bloweth us to our own land.'

But the Dainagon heard him not, he lay senseless in the bottom of the boat.

For three or four days the ship drave before the wind¹ and when land was made it was seen to be the beach of Akashi² in Harima. But the Dainagon thought it was some coast in the far southern sea, and, gasping for breath, lay motionless in the bottom of the boat, and still lay there helpless when the governor of the province, to whom the shipfolk had sent word of their lord's case, came to condole with him.

They spread mats for him under the pine-trees that fringed the shore, and laid him upon them. When he saw that it was to no southern sea coast he had come, but to a strand of his own country, he struggled to his feet, looking like one heavy with rheum, his belly greatly swollen, and his eyes resembling a pair of shoes stuck in on either side of his face.

A four-hand litter was then provided, in which the Dainagon was borne, as gently as might be, to his own mansion. Somehow the men whom he had ordered upon the Quest heard of their lord's return, and came to the mansion and said:—

'We did not win the Jewel in the Dragon's head, as we were commanded, and we ought not to dare to present ourselves at our lord's mansion, but now our lord knoweth how terrible the task was imposed upon

¹ Sailing boats were unknown in Japan at this date and long afterwards. Even in China they seem to be no older than about the eleventh century.

² Akashi may mean 'to grow, or be clear as dawn'. But it is written *Aka-ishi*, 'bright stone' = white shingle perhaps.

us and we venture to pray that no decree of expulsion be pronounced against us.'

The Dainagon got up and went out to them and deigned to say these words;—

'Tis well that ye have not won the Jewel. Yonder Dragon, for certain, is a thunder-god; in trying to win the Jewel has risk been caused to men's lives; had the dragon been killed I were lost myself, therefore well it was it was not gotten. Yonder Kaguya lady is a great schemer. She purposeth to cheat men to their death; go not nigh her, nor linger about her abode.'

The Dainagon then took what was left of his substance and divided it among the men—who had not won the Jewel.

His ladies, whom he had discarded, when they heard of all these things laughed till their sides ached, and the crows carried away the silken thatch of the pavilion built for Kaguyahime to line their nests with.

There were men who inquired whether the Dainagon had won the Jewel and they were told:—

'Nay, he hath not won the Jewel, but he hath gotten a pair of sloes in his head for eyes.'

'Ana tahegata!' they cried, whereby you may know how men came to say 'Ana tahegata'¹ of a luckless venture.

¹ *Ana* is interjectional, *tahegata*, intolérable.

BOOK VII

THE FIFTH TASK,

THE QUEST OF THE SWALLOW-SHELL THAT EASETH
BIRTH*Tsubakurame no koyasugai*

THE story of this Quest is but poor fooling, nor does it illustrate any trait of early Japanese life. Its motive, however, belongs to the folklore of the world, Western as well as Eastern, and a brief summary therefore may be given.

The Chiunagon Marotada has to present the Lady with a cowry shell (*koyasugai*) brought by a swallow (*tsubakurame*)—probably the *Hirundo gutturalis*, which according to Messrs. Blakiston and Pryer nests always in a house, where often a shelf is provided for its accommodation. He has recourse to his retainers, who devise various schemes, more or less trivial or ridiculous, in pursuance of one of which the Chiunagon endeavours to catch a swallow sitting upon its nest in the act of wagging its tail. Thus far he is successful, but only to be rewarded by a ball of dung, which he grasps firmly in his hand, believing that he has obtained the much-desired prize. In being lowered too hastily from his post of observation, to which he has been raised in a sort of basket attached to a rope, he meets with a mishap and falls upon a rice caldron, from which his retainers drag him still grasping his supposed prize—the nature of which he then, to his stupefaction, discovers.

The result was a broken limb and a bed of sickness.

Kaguyahime had pity on him—the only one of the five suitors who excited any emotion in her moonland

bosom—and sent him a stanza of which, with its answer, paraphrases are subjoined from the pen of Mr. Minakata :—

Though by mine eyes long time unseen,
memory preserves thee, fresh and green,
as pine-tree shadowing Suminoye's shore,
why have not yet the waves
brought from the ocean caves
the shell which I desire than rubies more?

The Chiunagon's reply was thus conceived :—

'Thy words of light
as jewels bright
welcome as were the longed-for shell—
oh, might that shell a vessel prove
to lift me up to heights of love,
from the sea of grief wherein I dwell!

And more than death itself he dreaded men's knowledge of his discomfiture.

"Whereby, concludes the story of the Quest, it may be known how the world first came to use the phrase, 'kahi (*kai*) ari!' 'he has got his shell'.¹

¹ The fondness of the swallow for human habitations, the very exact dates of her annual visits and departures, and the singular affection of pairing couples shown to each other and their offspring, were doubtless interesting subjects of man's contemplation at a very early stage of his history. Hence it is not surprising that swallow-stories should be common in the East as in the West, nor that generally the bird should be regarded with favour and hailed as a harbinger of prosperity, though Horace, indeed, calls her

infelix avis et Cecropiae domus
aeternum opprobrium.

The name of the common papaveraceous herb *Chelidonium* (*majus*) is a record of the common belief that swallows first used the juices of that plant to cure disease in their nestlings' eyes, and so taught the value of the remedy to men—a belief

not prevalent in the East. In Longfellow's 'Evangeline' it is a stone they use for that purpose :—

Oft in the barns they climbed to the populous nests on the rafters,
Seeking with eager eyes that wondrous stone which the
swallow

Brings from the shore of the sea to restore the sight of its
fledglings :

. Lucky was he who found that stone in the nest of the swallow !

In his *Ornithologia*, Aldrovandi cites a description of the swallow-stone by Pliny, and a more detailed one from Anselme Boece de Boodt. The stone is found in the nest, and is a remedy for many diseases. According to C. Leonard it facilitates both conception and birth. A Japanese writer of the eighteenth century, Kinouchi Shigeakira, mentions four 'swallow-stones'; one the stone-swallow, which is a fossil brachiopod resembling a swallow with outspread wings; a second, a flaky mica-schist which is blown about by the wind so as to resemble a swallow in flight; a third, which is a cowry shell, as mentioned in the Fifth Quest; and a fourth, a stone found in the province of Hien (written with the character [*hien*] meaning 'swallow'). The birth-easing qualities of the swallow-shell, are, no doubt, derived from the medical doctrine of 'sympathy', common in all lands and ages, and curiously exemplified in the present day by the system of homoeopathy, a doctrine which caused aids and remedies to be discovered in things which had some resemblance, material or other, to what was sought to be aided or remedied. Cowries, too, served as currency in ancient China, and many characters relating to wealth or money contain the element 貝 (representing a tortoise shell with the legs protruding), such as 貢 tribute, 賣 sell, 寶 treasure.

[I owe this note to the kindness of Mr. Minakata, who has prepared an exhaustive account of the swallow-stone and shell myth, which I trust may be published.] The Japanese name for the swallow is *tsubame* (also *tsubakura*, *tsubakurame*), etymologically connected, no doubt, with *tsubasa*, wing, itself related to *tobu*, fly (comp. *toki*, time, and *tsuki*, moon). The swallow is not mentioned in the *Manyōshū*, nor is the bird, I think, a subject of Japanese poetry. *Kahi-ari* may be rendered 'well done !'

BOOK VIII

THE ROYAL HUNT

Mikari no Miyuki

Now the Mikado, hearing of the incomparable loveliness of Kaguyahime said to the *naishi*¹ Nakatomi no Fusako :—

‘Yonder Kaguyahime who hath brought to nought so many men, for that she will mate with none of them, go thou and see what manner of woman she may be.’

Fusako heard respectfully and went. When she arrived at the ancient’s dwelling she was most courteously received and invited to enter, and said to the dame :—

‘His majesty has commanded me to see Kaguyahime, the fame of whose great beauty has reached him.’

The dame went, accordingly, to the Lady’s chamber and bade her meet the royal messenger. But Kaguyahime said :—

‘I am not beautiful at all, why should she see me.’

‘How can you say such a thing’ ! replied the dame, ‘’tis a lady sent from the Court, you cannot treat her in this unseemly manner.’

‘I will not heed the Mikado’s message,’ replied the Lady.

And she maintained her refusal to be ‘seen of the Lady Fusako. Though living with her foster-parents as if she were their child, they never sought to

¹ *Naishi*, a sort of ladies-in-waiting or women attendants upon the Mikado. The Nakatomi were originally the ‘vicars of the Mikado’ (Aston’s *Shintō*).

constrain her, and 'always treated her with great respect and consideration.

The dame went back to the *naishi*¹ Fusako, and said :—

‘Unfortunately, the girl is very young and obstinately refuses to be seen of you.’

‘But how can I return without seeing her?’ cried the lady, ‘His Majesty specially enjoined me to see the maiden; who can think of any subject of the Sovran of this realm not obeying his commands! She must not conduct herself so foolishly.’

Her reproachful words were repeated to Kaguyahime, but all the more would she not listen to them.

‘If I am to suffer death for disobedience to the commands of the Sovran, then let me be put to death.’

So the *naishi* returned to City-Royal and reported these things. The Mikado heard and exclaimed :—

‘This girl is bent upon men’s destruction!’ and thought to leave things so, but again bethinking himself, resolved that Kaguyahime’s devices¹ should not be further successful, and commanded that the old Wicker-worker should himself be ordered to present himself at Court.

The ancient, accordingly, went up to City-Royal and the Mikado directed that he should be told² :—

‘Thou hast a daughter, one Kaguyahime, let her be brought hither. We had heard of her beauty of face and form and sent one of our ladies to see her, but she refused to be seen. How can she, indeed, display such impropriety!

The ancient answered humbly :—

¹ Those she had used to get rid of the suitors.

² The conversations with the Mikado were held by intermediary of the *naishi*.

‘It is a great grief to your servant that this girl doth so resolutely refuse to serve your Majesty, but I will return and inform her of your Majesty’s will.’

‘Doth not this girl owe obedience to the ancient who hath brought her up!’ exclaimed the Mikado, when the Wicker-worker’s words were repeated to him; ‘let him bring her to Court and shall not a cap of rank be bestowed upon him!’

The ancient, gladdened by this promise, returned to his house and spoke to Kaguyahime, saying:—

‘Thus and thus hath the Mikado commanded, and now surely thou wilt obey.’

But Kaguyahime still refused, exclaiming:—

‘If I be compelled so to serve His Majesty I shall surely disappear, and your cap of rank will just mean my death.’

‘Nay, thou shalt not be constrained,’ cried the ancient, ‘of what profit were a cap of rank to me if I lost my daughter, yet tell me, why dost thou so dislike to serve His Majesty, that such service would cause thy death?’

‘My words are no empty words, father,’ replied Kaguyahime, ‘try me and you will see that they are true. Have I not already made thought of the hopes of many noble wooers, and to yield me this day to what the Mikado demandeth would give rein to the tongues of slanderers.’

The ancient answered:—

‘For the things of this world I care neither this nor that, but thy dear life, daughter, is precious to me above everything, and straightway will I go up to City-Royal and say that thou canst not by any means serve His Majesty.’

Then he went up to City-Royal and declared :—

‘According to His Majesty’s command I have respectfully sought to bring my daughter to Court, but she will not consent to serve His Majesty, and saith she must surely die if she be forced to become one of his ladies. The girl is not of the blood of Miyatsuko Maro—long ago he found her among the hills—neither is she in feeling like to the dwellers in this world.’

The Mikado’s command was :—

‘The house of Miyatsuko Maro stands at the foot of the hills. Let a Royal Hunt be ordered and I may, perchance, get a glimpse of the maiden.’

The ancient on hearing this exclaimed :—

‘’Tis a most excellent device. His Majesty may see her if the Hunt be ordered without any notice thereof, for so she may be approached unawares.’

A day was then fixed, but without warning, and in the course of the Hunt the Mikado entered the ancient’s dwelling, and as he looked he saw that it was filled with light in the midst whereof stood a lovely being.

‘’Tis she,’ he cried, and approached her, but she fled. He laid his hand upon her sleeve, but she covered her face. Howbeit the Mikado got a first glimpse of her and saw that she was beautiful beyond compare.

‘Nay you must not go,’ he cried, attempting to lead her away, but Kaguyahime exclaimed :—

‘Were I a born denizen of this land well would I serve your Majesty, but even your Majesty has no power to lead me away.’

The Mikado, however, despite her words, again tried to lead her away and caused his litter to be brought nearer, when, in a trice she vanished into

thin air. Disappointed and vexed, the Mikado now understood that the Lady was no common mortal.

‘I pray you, Lady,’ he said, ‘take again your former shape, I will not seek to lead you away. Once more let me look on your form and I will depart.’

Then Kaguyahime resumed her shape, and the Mikado could not contain his delight and felt most grateful to the ancient, whose device¹ had enabled him to gaze upon such loveliness. Meanwhile the Wicker-worker entertained right nobly the whole of the royal retinue.

Deep was the Mikado’s disappointment that he must leave Kaguyahime behind; it seemed as if he left his very soul at the ancient’s house as he entered his litter and made ready to go back to City-Royal. He composed a stanza which was given to her:—

Alone returning
to City-Royal sadly
my soul is weary—
I still look back and long for
cruel Kaguyahime.

And this was her answer:—

For many a year
’neath humble roof o’ergrown
with rough-coiled hop-vine
my home hath been, and wherefore
should I for palace change it.

When the Mikado read these lines he was more than ever desirous of remaining, and lost all sense of the need of returning until his servants reminded him that he could not linger there till dawn broke, whereupon he was borne away.

On looking at the women who ordinarily served

¹ The keeping of the day of the Royal Hunt secret.

him the Mikado saw that they could not be put by the side of Kaguyahime. Such was her loveliness that none could compare with her, with her only could his heart concern itself, and he passed the days and the nights alone nor visited the ladies of his Court, at which they were much displeased.

He deigned to write letters to Kaguyahime which he caused to be conveyed to her, and to these she composed replies, and so, forgetting all distinctions of rank, they corresponded with each other, and exchanged verses in which the blossoms of spring and the glories of autumn were employed as metaphors.¹

BOOK IX

THE CELESTIAL ROBE OF FEATHERS

Ama no hagoromo

After this manner the Mikado and Kaguyahime comforted their great hearts for the space of three years, when from the beginning of spring the maiden was observed to watch the fair rising of the moon and to fall sadder than was her wont. Her women chid her, saying, 'Thus to gaze on the face of the moon breedeth sorrow.'² But despite their chidings the maid went on watching the moon privily, and her tears flowed abundantly.

When the moon was at its full in the seventh month³ still sadder grew her countenance, and the

¹ The text might possibly mean, 'verses attached to spring blossoms and autumn sprays.'

² With how sad steps, O moon, thou climbst the sky,
How silently, and with how wan a face.

(Sir Philip Sidney.)

³ Parts of July and August.

women who served her sought the old Wicker-worker and told him, saying :—

‘Kaguyahime ever watcheth the moon in sadness, but this latter time more sadly than is her wont, and some sorrow¹ seemeth to lie heavy on her, wherefore we pray you to look well to her.’

The ancient heard and went to the maiden and said to her :—

‘What aileth thee, child, that after this sad fashion thou gazest upon the moon’s orb, thy life is not miserable here?’

‘As I gaze upon the moon,’ murmured the Lady, ‘my heart faileth me because of the wretchedness of this world; what other grief were mine?’

Again the ancient went to her chamber and saw that her misery was greater than ever, wherefore he cried :—

‘My Buddha, my, Buddha², what is thy trouble, what grieveth thee?’

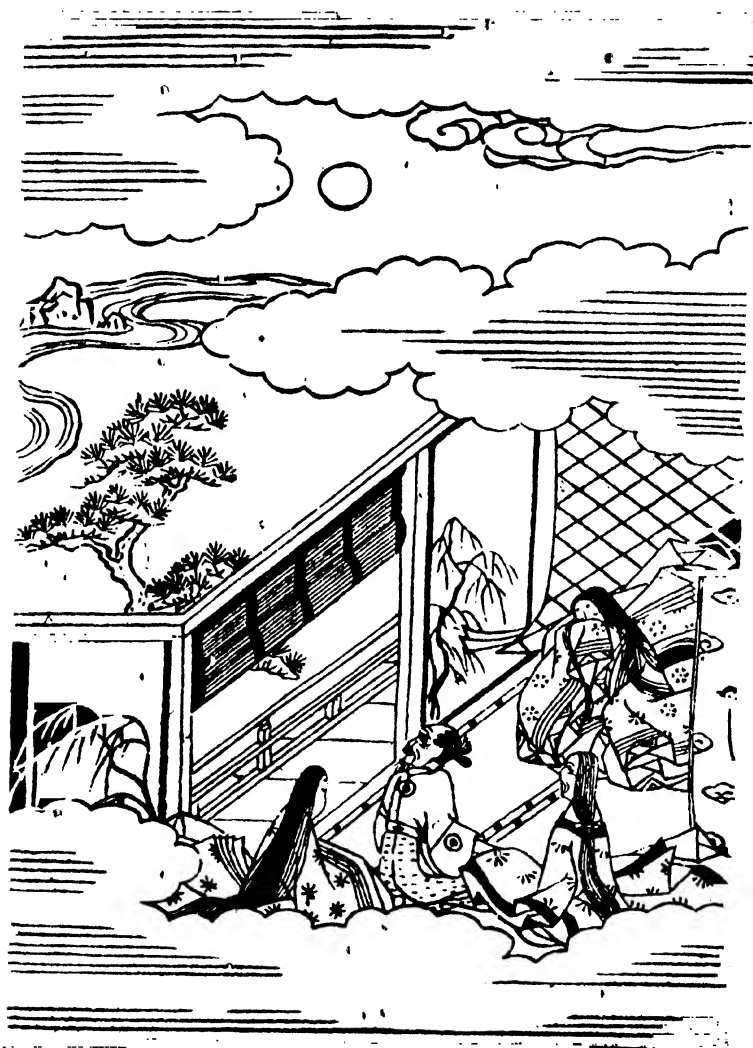
‘Nought grieveth me,’ she answered, ‘but my heart faileth me.’

‘Gaze not so on the moon,’ said the ancient, ‘it is such watching of the orb that bringeth thee this sadness.’

‘How may I cease to look upon the moon!’ said the Lady; and more and more, as the moon rose, she went out to gaze upon the orb, and deeper and deeper grew her sadness. But on moonless nights her sorrow departed from her. As the moon waxed, times and again she lamented and wept. As those who served her watched her, they felt assured she nursed some secret grief, and whispered that it was so among them-

¹ The approach of the time of her return to Moonland.

² A term of endearment.



Kaguyahime tells her foster-parents of her approaching return to Moonland. ‘

selves, but what was the reason of her woe none could guess, not even her parents. When the eighth month came and the moon shone at its fullest, Kaguyahime wept still more sorely, and as she wept sought no longer to conceal her tears. When her foster-parents saw her state they very earnestly besought her to tell them the cause of her grief.

So, at last, weeping bitterly, Kaguyahime said: 'Times and again¹ have I thought to confess to you why I am troubled, but I knew how I should distract your heart with grief, and so have I kept silent till now when I must tell you why I have gone forth so often to gaze upon the moon's face. I am no creature of this world, my true home is City-Royal in Moonland. Long ago it was decreed that I should descend upon this earth for a space, but now draweth nigh the time when I must return. As yonder orb shall wax to its fullest, a company of beings shall come down from the sky to bear me away, nor can I avoid my doom; and so you know why, since the first days of spring, day by day have I become more sorrowful and sad.'

'What thing is this thou tellest me?' cried the ancient. 'Did I not find thee in the hollow of a bamboo, and did we not rear thee from the time when thou wert small as a rape-seed until thy stature was like my own. What folk be these who would rob me of my own child? I will die ere they take thee,' he added, bursting into tears and lamentations.

'Moonland folk are my true father and mother,' exclaimed Kaguyahime. 'For a while only descended I on this earth, but now have I dwelt with you many a year. I have no memory of my father and

¹ When questioned by the ancient.

mother who dwell up yonder, and so long have I lived under your fostering care that I care but little for the glories of Moonland, and should know nothing but misery in leaving you. But, alas, I may not follow my own heart in this matter, and cannot avoid the parting.' ¹

The ancient and his good-wife and Kaguyahime then wept together. Her women, too, who had served her all these years, and thus had come to love her as they watched her growing in goodness and grace, could not bear the idea of her departure, and gasped with grief, so as not to care even to swallow a single cup of warm water, and shed tears in company with her parents.

The Mikado, hearing of these things, sent a messenger to the Wicker-worker's house to make inquiry. The ancient came out to meet the royal messenger, and wept without end. So utter was his sorrow his beard had gone grey, his limbs bent under him, his eyes were dim and bleared. He was but fifty years old, but the depth of his grief had made him seem to turn suddenly into an old man.

The royal envoy delivered his message, and said: 'His Majesty would know if it be true that some great grief hath come upon your house?'

The ancient, amid his tears, answered:—

'When this moon shall be at its fullest, a company of folk will come down from Moonland's City-Royal, to carry away our daughter. We are humbly grateful to His Majesty for his inquiry, and would pray that a company of armed men may be sent on the night of the full moon to take captive these Moon-folk, should they dare to make this raid.'

¹ The text of this passage is defective.

The messenger returned to City-Royal and related all that he had heard, whereupon the Mikado exclaimed:—

‘But a glimpse had I of the Lady, yet never will her image fade from my memory; how great then must be the grief of losing her to those who, morning and evening, are accustomed to see her!’

So when the day of full moon came, the captains of the guards were commanded, and the general Takano no Ohokuni was sent with two thousand armed men, chosen from the six regiments of Royal Guards, to defend the Wicker-worker’s dwelling.

The armed men marched down accordingly, and a thousand men were posted on the earthen ramparts, and another thousand on the roofs, and to all these were joined the house-folk who were very many, so that there was not a crevice left unguarded. On his back bore every man his bow and arrow-ful quiver, while within the treasure-chamber assembled the women to protect the maiden. There the good-wife held Kaguyahime in a firm embrace, the door of the chamber was fastened, and the ancient stood on guard hard by the entrance.

These preparations being made, the ancient cried: ‘With ward such as this, shall we yield even to sky-folk!’

He then called to the men on the roofs, and shouted: ‘If ye see anything no bigger than a drop of dew fall through the air, shoot and kill.’

‘Should so much as a single bat,’ was the reply, ‘but come near our defence, we will slay it on the spot and expose the carcase.’¹

¹ As the heads of executed criminals were.

The ancient was well pleased on hearing these bold words, but Kaguyahime said :—

‘Strict may your ward be and brave your defence, but ye cannot prevail against these Moonland folk. Your artillery will not touch them, your bolts and bars will start at their approach, fight ye ever so stoutly ; of no avail against them will your utmost prowess be.’

But the ancient retorted :—

‘My nails shall become as talons to claw out the eyes of those who come to take you. I will seize them by the hair of their heads, and whirl them round and dash them to the ground. I will tear their clothes off their backs and put them to shame before the eyes of the royal troops.’

‘Nay, father,’ cried Kaguyahime, ‘shout not so loudly, it were not seemly that the armed men on the roofs should hear such words. Alas I must leave you, as if I had lost all memory of the affection shown to me while I dwelt with you ; I must soon depart from you, for that it was decreed that my doom was to be one of no long exile. Even a little gratitude for all your goodness to me I cannot show, and great is my grief now that the hour of quitting you is at hand ; for months and months have I known ’twas so ordered, and I prayed my parents above for yet this year with you but it could not be, and so I must suffer this sorrow, and you, my parents, will be distracted with grief for me, and the misery of knowing this is intolerable. These Moonland folk are of that fine essence that they know not old age nor any sorrow. With them must I fare, yet fain would I remain, for, alas, I shall not be with you to watch over you as ye grow old and feeble.¹’

¹ This speech is slightly simplified.



The Descent of the Angelic Company from Heaven to bear away the Lady of Light to Moonland, and the discomfiture of the men-at-arms sent by the Mikado to protect hei.

As she spoke, Kaguyahime fell to weeping.

The ancient's heart, too, was wrung with grief, and sore with misery he exclaimed :—

‘Hold, daughter, glorious beings though these folk be, they shall not harm thee.’

Now the night was far gone and the middle hour of the rat [midnight] was come, when a flood of light, brighter than the sun at noon, fell upon the house, a glory tenfold that of the full moon, revealing the tiniest hair-pore on a man's skin. And through the shining air descended a company of beings borne on a cloud, and they stood ranked on the cloud as it hovered some little distance above the gateway.

The armed men, posted within and without the dwelling, when they saw this prodigy, were struck with fear and lost all stomach for fighting, nevertheless with a great effort they made to fix shaft and bend bow, but the strength was gone from their arms and their bodies were bent and paralysed ; and though some among them there were of a yet bolder spirit, who with a supreme determination let fly their arrows, all astray went the shafts, and so their valour was of no avail, and the defenders could only gaze at each other foolishly.

In raiment of peerless splendour were the beings arrayed who stood upon that cloud, surrounding a flying car, over which was held a canopy of gauze, and midmost the company was an angel of royal bearing, who turned him towards the ancient's abode, and cried out :—

‘Come forth, Miyatsuko Maro!’ whereupon the ancient, of late so bold, staggered forth like a drunken man and fell prostrate on his face :

And the angel said :—

‘Thou art but a simple fellow, yet some slight merit of works hast thou shown in thy life, and some guerdon was therefore bestowed on thee, and gold given thee year after year, so that from a poor man thou becamest a rich one. To expiate a fault was Kaguyahime doomed to bide a while in thy wretched home, but now hath the term of her exile come, wherefore vain are thy lamentations.’ I bid thee deliver the maiden to those who come to carry her back to her own land.’

‘’Tis strange that my lord speaketh of Kaguyahime,’ answered the ancient, ‘as one who hath been cared for by us for a while only, seeing that the maid hath bided under our roof these twenty years or more. Perchance my lord speaketh of another maid of that name who dwelleth elsewhere; she who liveth here is ill at ease, and may not leave her chamber.’

No answer was vouchsafed, but nearer floated the car borne on the cloud that hovered a little above the roofs.

‘Iza! Kaguyahime,’ commanded the angel, ‘how long wouldst thou tarry in this filthy place?’

In a trice, the doors of the treasure-chamber flew open, and the lattices likewise, untouched by any hand, and Kaguyahime came forth from the arms of the good-wife, nor could she be held back; and the woman lifted up her face and wept sorely.

The ancient fell grovelling on the ground in his despair, and Kaguyahime drew near to him, saying:—

‘My fate constrains me, father, ’tis not my will, now must I mount to yonder Moonland; follow me, father, with your eyes.’

But he answered: ‘Why should I miserably follow thee with my eyes? Let me be dealt with as thou

wilt; let me be abandoned, and go thou with this company of Moon-folk.' And he remained on the ground, weeping bitterly.

'My father is beside himself with grief, he cannot hear,' murmured the Lady of Light; 'I will leave a writing for him, and at times when he shall yearn for me he shall take it out and read it, and so find some solace.' Then, shedding tears, she took paper and wrote these words:—

'Had I been a dweller born in this land I should not have caused this sorrow, nor thought of passing beyond the bounds of earth, as now I must, contrary to all my desire. And I doff my mantle and ask my parents to look upon it at times as a memorial of me, and when the moon is at its full I would they gazed upon the orb, and from the skies, where now I must soar out of their sight again, shall my longing travel down to them.'

Now the angels had brought with them a coffer in which lay a Robe of Feathers. The coffer also contained a joint of bamboo, filled with the Elixir of Life. One of the angels took the joint and offered the Elixir to Kaguyahime. 'Take some,' he said, 'it will clear away the impurities contracted in this filthy world.' So she took a little, and made to hide some in her mantle, but the angel stayed her, and taking out the Robe of Feathers made to throw it over her shoulders. Kaguyahime prevented him, saying:—

'Wait yet a little, for those who don that Robe are changed in nature, and something more would I write down ere I depart,' and again she began to write.

Thereupon the angel grew impatient, exclaiming: 'Too much you delay, longer we may not tarry.'

‘You speak in ignorance [of my earthly life],’ answered Kaguyahime, as very calmly she finished her writing, and with dignified composure delivered the scroll into the hands of the royal officer.

[What she wrote was as follows :]

‘Though your Majesty has deigned to send a host of armed men to prevent the Moonland folk from carrying me away with them, such a thing could not be. They have come to bear me with them, and, alas! I must go. I could not serve your Majesty, and deep was my sorrow, which your Majesty could not know the motive of, so that my refusal must have continued to be regarded as rudeness and disloyalty—

now is the moment,
the Heavenly Robe of Feathers
fate bids me don—
and as I pass from earth, Sire,
a sad farewell I offer.’

Then, putting the bamboo-jar containing the Elixir, with the scroll, Kaguyahime committed both to the chief royal officer by the hands of the angel. As the royal officer received them, suddenly the Robe of Feathers was thrown over the Lady, and in a moment all thought and feeling for the old Wicker-worker disappeared, for those who don that Robe know sorrow no more; and she entered the car, and escorted by the company of angels mounted to the skies.

After her departure, the ancient and his dame shed tears of blood and could not be comforted. They read the words she had written for them, but of what avail was it to partake of the Elixir, for life had become a misery to them; for whose sake, to what end, should they prolong their days? therefore

they would not take of it, but still lay prostrate with grief, nor could they rise to their feet.

The royal officers marched back to City-Royal with their host, and reported in detail how they were unable to prevent the Moonland folk from carrying away with them the Lady Kaguyahime.

The Mikado received the letter she had written, together with the bamboo-jar of Elixir, and was much affected as he read the missive, so that he could neither eat nor take any diversion.

He summoned his ministers and his lords, and inquired of them which mountain towered nearest to heaven.

One answered :—

‘There is a mountain in the land of Suruga, not remote from City-Royal, whereof the peak is highest heaven.’

His Majesty on hearing this composed a quintain,—

Ne’er more to see her,
on a sea of tears drifting¹
my life is borne—
what profiteth this Elixir,
the span of sad days length’ning,

Then he delivered the letter and the bamboo-jar to one of his attendant ladies. And he commanded that Tsuki no Iwagasa² should be summoned, and that he should be directed to ascend the peak of that mountain in the land of Suruga. Also he explained what was to be done when the peak was gained, and it was that the scroll and the jar should be there burnt with fire.

¹ A word-play in the text involves the double meaning of ‘ne’ermore’ and ‘sea of tears’.

² The name, one meaning of which may be ‘The Moon’s Rocky Canopy,’ is not without significance.

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Tsuki no Iwagasa, accordingly, took with him a company of armed men, and they clomb the mountain as bidden. And the name of that mountain is Fuji; from its peak, men say, from that day to this the smoke of that burning drifteth amid the clouds of heaven.

End of the Story of the Old Wicker-worker.

THE PREFACE TO THE KOKINSHIU, OR GARNER OF JAPANESE VERSE OLD AND NEW

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY KANEKO GENSHIN¹

THIS Anthology is a classic universally known. Prefixed to it is a preface in Japanese. A Chinese preface is added as a postscript. The Japanese preface is in *kana*, by Tsurayuki himself. The Chinese preface is in *mana*, Chinese script, and is the work of Ki no Yoshimochi, a relative of Tsurayuki. Of both these prefaces the diction and phrasing are admirable, plan and treatment alike excellent. Which of the two served as a model to the other we do not certainly know. But there seems no reason to suppose that Tsurayuki should have needed any assistance

¹ Kaneko Genshin. He is the author of the edition of the preface used in the preparation of this translation. The full title of the work is *Kokin Wakashiu Hyōshaku*,—*hyōshaku* signifies 'commentary'.

The edition is the second, published in 35 Meiji (1903) in five volumes of about 170 pages each, well printed on both sides of the paper. The price is yen 4.10 = about 8s. Of the older editions, the best known is Motowori's *Tohokugami*, Distant (i. e. Imperfect) Reflection of the Kokin.

in composing a preface. The *kana* preface may have been required in view of the popularity of the work. It must be remembered, too, that Tsurayuki was specially interested in the promotion of native literature, as his preface shows. The *kana* (syllabic script), then, was probably the original, the *mana* founded upon it. In the oldest MSS. of the Anthology neither preface is to be found; such would not have been fitting in a work to be presented to the Sovereign. Both were added, no doubt, after the presentation had taken place.

TSURAYUKI'S PREFACE TO THE KOKINSHIU

OUR native poetry² springs from the heart³ of man as its seed, producing the countless leaves of language.⁴ Multitudinous are the affairs of men in this world, what their minds think, what their eyes see, what their ears hear they must find words to express. Listening to the nightingale⁵ singing amid

¹ Of Ki no Tsurayuki we know little more than that he was a court noble and died in A.D. 946. The preface was written in or about 922. In addition to the *Kokin* Anthology, Ki no Tsurayuki composed the curious Journal known as *Tosa Nikki*, relating the incidents of his return to Kyôto after four years' service in the province of Tosa (Shikoku).

² i. e. Japanese poetry (*uta*) as distinguished from Chinese poetry (*shi*). Poetry voices the thoughts and feelings of men.

³ Literally 'heart,' *kokoro*, intellect and feeling. Or 'makes the heart of man its subject'. It must here be stated that to give full value to all parts of the text would entail much paraphrasing, owing to the differences in diction and thought, and in the connotation of words, natural where clime and time are so far removed.

⁴ *koto no ha*, 'leaves of speech.' This fanciful comparison of words to leaves, based on the likeness of the expression *kotoba* to *koto* [no] *ha* (*ba* is *ha* with the voicing mark), seems due to Tsurayuki.

⁵ *uguhisu*, Cettia cantans.

the blossoms of Spring,¹ or to the murmur of frogs among the marshes in Autumn,² we know that every living thing that liveth hath its part in the mingled music of Nature.³ Our poetry, with effortless ease,³ moveth heaven and earth, draweth sympathy from invisible demons and deities, softens the relations between men and women, and refresheth the heart of the warrior; from the time of the manifestation of heaven and earth it hath its origin, but its transmission to our day began in relation to sunbright⁴ heaven with the work of Shitateruhime⁵ and in relation to the earth, mother of metals, with that of Susanowo no Mikoto.⁶

¹ The blossoms of the wild cherry (*Prunus cerasus*) are meant.

² Thus all organic life, all living nature, is included.

³ In the Book of Odes (*Shih King*) are the following lines:—
to move the heavens and the earth,
to touch the hearts of demons and spirits,
is not that the self-office of song!

⁴ *hisakatano*, see List m. k. (vol. texts).

⁵ The Under-Shine Goddess—so beautiful that her charms shone under her vestments. This at least is the usual explanation. Perhaps it was nothing more than a sun-name. She is also known as Takahime (Lofty Princess). Her progenitor was Ohokuninushi, Lord of the Great Land, and she married the wicked God Amewakahiko, Young Celestial Prince. She was the granddaughter of Susanowo, born of Izanagi and Izanami, who were descended from Amanotokotachi the last of the second generation from Amanominakanushi, Lord of the Centre of Heaven—himself an earlier Sun God. See the myths in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* and in Dr. Aston's *Shintō*.

⁶ Here in all the texts is interpolated:—

[‘In the days of the swift-thousand-brandishing gods (*chihayaburu*, see List m. k.) the metre of verse was not established, the language was rudimentary and hard to understand. It was when the human age dawned, from the days of Susanowo, that the stanza of thirty-one syllables was invented.’]

Thus the heart of man came to find expression in the various modes of speech for its joy in the beauty of flowers, its wonder at the song of birds, its tender welcome of the spring mists, its mournful sympathy with the eyanescence of the morning dew. As step by step from the first movement of the foot distant journeys are achieved in the course of time, as grain by grain high mountains are piled up from the mere dust¹ at their base until their peaks are lost in the drifting clouds of heaven, so hath the verse of our land, little by little, become rich and abundant. The quintain opening with the line *Naniha tsu*² is the first example of poetry composed by royal command. In the stanza beginning with *Asaka yama*³ we have an instance of a maid's banter; these two

¹ A favourite simile, possibly of Chinese origin.

² <i>Naniha tsu</i>	In Naniha, lo!
<i>saku ya kono hana</i>	now blow the plum-tree's blossoms,
<i>fuyukomori</i>	for winter-prison'd
<i>ima wo harube to</i>	Spring that's scapeth showeth,
<i>saku ya kono hana.</i>	this spring-time's blossoms showeth.

Ascribed to (or to the command of) Ôjin—the legendary introducer of letters into Japan in A.D. 285.

This is a *sohe uta*—innuendo song—said to have been addressed to the Mikado Nintoku (313–99), who for three years refused to accept the cession of the throne offered by the Prince Imperial on the death of the Mikado Ôjin. The poet points to the blossoms of spring, and thinks that it is time the winter of discontent of the followers of Nintoku gave way to a spring-time of court-life.

³ <i>Asaka yama</i>	What heart as shallow
<i>kage sahe miyuru</i>	as Shallow-Hill's clear fountain
<i>yama no ue</i>	in the sunlight sparkling,
<i>Asaki hokoro wo</i>	what heart of man, so shallow,
<i>aga mohanaku ni!</i>	can me inspire with love, Sir!

pieces are the father and mother of our poetry¹ and still guide the earliest steps of the young student of verse.

Now Japanese poetry may be arranged under six categories, just as of Chinese poetry there are six categories.² The categories are these:—*sohe*, or satirical or *innuendo* verse; *kazohe*, or descriptive pieces; *nazorahe*, figurative pieces; *tatohe*, allusive songs; *tagadoto*, lyrical poems; and *ihahi*, congratulatory odes.³

In these days men are lost in sensuality, their aim

There is a word-play on the resemblance between *Asaka* and *asaki*, shallow. The first tercet is a preface to *asaki*. The quintain is found in the sixteenth volume of the *Manyōshū*. The story there given is, that a high official sent down to Michinoku found the affairs of the province in disorder, and at a banquet sat moody and silent until a waiting-maid (who had come from City-Royal) dispelled his vexation by reciting the stanza. *Asaka*, it should be added, is a hill in Michinoku. Upon the lay a story is founded—given in the *Yamato Tales*—in which a *toneri* (court-page) runs off with a nobleman's daughter destined for the Mikado. He keeps her in the wild country round *Asaka-yama* for a considerable time, until one day catching the reflection of her face in the waters of the fountain she is horrified at the changes time has made. Finally, made desperate at the loss of her charms she slays herself, being sure that no man will care longer to look upon her.

¹ *Naniha tsu* and *Asuka yama* represent the extremes of authorship.

² Perhaps the three Divisions and three Styles of the Book of Odes are intended. The six are—Ballads, Eulogies, Homage, Songs, Allusive, Metaphorical, and Descriptive Songs (Mayers' *Chinese Reader's Manual*). I bow this suggestion to the kindness of Professor Giles.

³ Exact equivalents of the names of these categories can scarcely be given. *Kazohe uta* are plain songs without metaphor or simile.

is mere decoration, therefore their verse is vain and trivial.¹ In those circles where luxury only is cultivated, true poetry as is hidden from knowledge as a log of fossil wood, buried deep in the ground.²; in more elegant coteries verse is known, indeed, but is little better than the bloom of the so-called flower-reed that never produceth an ear of grain.³

When we remember how poetry arose we see that such ought not to be its condition.

In ancient days the mikados themselves, on blossomy spring mornings and moonlit autumn nights, called together their courtiers, and bade them compose verses on various subjects. Some would celebrate their wanderings in difficult places after the blossomy sprays of Spring, others their unguided rambles in the darkness of night to gaze upon the orb of the rising moon of Autumn. These productions the Sovran would himself examine, and determine which were excellent and which were poor.

Nor were such the only themes. The tiny pebble⁴

¹ I take the language of the text here as purely critical and translate accordingly. In the text there is a correspondence between *iro*, colour, love, and *hana*, flower, decoration, impermanence.

² The whole of this passage is not easy to render. Its meaning, however, must be pretty near to that given. The 'buried log' may refer to fossilized wood, such as is found in Sendai, and made into ornaments.

³ *Miscanthus sinensis*, its florescence produces no appreciable fruit.

⁴ *Waga kimi ha*
chi yo ni mashi nabe
sazare ishi no
ihgho to narite
keke no musu made!

Oh, may our Sovran
for a thousand years hold sway,
till tiny pebble
to boulder groweth green
with the moss of countless
ages.

and the vast mass of Tsukuba's hill¹ were used as similes wherewith to honour the Sovran; when the heart was overflowing with the happiness of existence and the pleasure of life, when love of one's fellow-men could be compared with the eternal 'fumes of Fuji², when the murmur of the cicada recalled sadly the memory of an absent friend³, the pines of Takasago and Suminoye⁴, the pleasures of life-long wedded love, Wotoko's hill⁵ the vigour of past manhood, and when in the *ominameshi*⁶ flower was seen the symbol of the briefness of the season of girlish bloom, it was in verse they found relief.

¹ <i>Tsukubane no</i>	On Tsukuba's hill
<i>konô mo kanô mo ni</i>	two peaks broad shadows cast,
<i>kage ha aredo</i>	'tis so, yet ever
<i>kimi ga mi kage ni</i>	is my Lord's protective shadow
<i>masu kage ha nashi!</i>	than any shadow ampler!

'Shadow' is equivalent to grace or favour. The word in the text, *kage*, means both light and shadow, the double effect of light. *O kage ni* is a common modern phrase—with your good favour, &c. Tsukuba's double peak is a prominent feature of the Yedo (Tôkyô) landscape, and divides with Fujiyama the admiration of poets, and *ukiyo*, artists. Dr. Aston has given translations of the above quintains in his valuable *History of Japanese Literature*.

² See the close of the story of the Old Wicker-worker, *ante*.

³ For an 'autumn' stanza of the *Kokin* the song of the cicada is mentioned combined with the pine tree *matsu* = *matsu*, hope for, expect, and the Davallia fern, *shinobu* = *shinobu* (vb.), support patiently. Such were some of the humours of old Japan.

⁴ See the Nô play of Takasago, *post*.

⁵ *Wotoko yama*, a hill in Yamashiro; *wotoko* means 'man', 'manhood.'

⁶ *Ominameshi* (or *ominaheshi*),—ladies' food—a valerian (*Patrinia scabiosaeifolia*). It is one of the seven [salad] herbs of Autumn. *Womina* means 'woman,' 'lady.' *Otokoheshi* is *P. villosa*. The flower names recall womanhood (*omina*) and manhood (*otoko*).

Again to verse were they moved when they saw the ground white with snowy showers of fallen cherry blossoms on spring mornings; or heard on autumn evenings the rustle of falling leaves; or year after year gazed upon the mirror's reflection of the doleful ravages of time, shown by grey hairs and wavy wrinkles; or trembled as they watched the passing dewdrop quivering on the beaded grass, or the river's flow flecked with perishing bubbles—symbols of their own fleeting lives; or noted the leaves in all their glory to-day perishing on the morrow, or what one had admired yesterday regarded with indifference to-day.

Then, too, their subjects might be the sound of the waves beating on the base of the pine-hills¹, the solitary drawer of water at the fount in mid-moorland², the contemplation of the fall of the *hagi*-leaf in Autumn³, the count of the times the woodcock preens his feathers in the red dawn⁴, the comparison of man's existence to a *kure*⁵ bamboo-

¹ The sadness of the longings of one's heart (for the absent one) is likened to the sound of the beating of the surf at the foot of the pine-crowned hills.

² 'Though the water of the fountain in the shallow well on the moor may be tepid (through shallowness and exposure to sun, and therefore unpleasant to drink), yet 'tis a source known of old, and he who knoweth my heart, will he not come to draw water of refreshment thence, as those who remember the source still use it?'

³ 'Alas! the *hagi* (bush-clover) loseth its leaf; 'tis the time of the belling of the stag who calls his mate.'

⁴ 'I wonder whether he will fail his tryst as often as the snipe flappeth his wings in the red dawn.' In this and the preceding notes the references to pieces in the *Kokinshū* are explained...

⁵ *Kure, take* was a 'darkling or clouded?' bamboo introduced, perhaps, from Wu (China); by word-play, 'sombre passage in life.'

joint floating down a river, the 'flood of Yóshino—as symbol of man's varied fortunes in the world¹, dismay at tidings of the disappearance of Fuji's fumes or of the mending of Nagara's bridge—in regard to all these subjects the making of verses composed their minds.²

Thus from antiquity was poetry cultivated, but it was in the Nara period³ that the art flourished. Of that age Kakinomoto no Hitómaro⁴ was the very prince of poets⁵. Then appeared Yamabe no Akáhito, and of the two it were hard to say which was the greater, which the lesser genius. In addition to these great poets, a number of men of talent distinguished themselves in the succeeding ages; the line was maintained, and did not come to an end.

Long before the present compilation was made, the

¹ The river of Yoshino which, now rapid, now slow, traverses the hilly tract of Imose yama—*imo se*, lit., sister and brother, means also husband and wife.

² Verse-making consoled them in view of the utmost vicissitudes of the world. That Fuji should cease its fuming, or the strong Bridge of Nagara (*naga* = long, long-lasting) fail, was incredible.

³ Interpolation. [In that rich time will the true heart of poetry have been first attained.]

⁴ Interpolation. [Of the rank of 'great lord' (*ohokimi*), more exactly *shósammi*, i. e. upper-third rank.]

⁵ Interpolation. [An instance of similarity of genius between the Nara Sovran and Hitómaro may be given. The former saw the tracery of a rich brocade formed by the dead leaves of the maple floating down the Tatruta River (a common theme of Japanese poet and artist), the latter compared the fallen blossoms of the cherry that whitened the hills of Yoshino to the snows of winter. (According to Kaneko this observation is founded on impossible history.)]

Anthology known as the *Manyôshû*¹ appeared. Since that time more than ten reigns, more than a hundred years, have passed. At the present day in City-Royal² those who are versed in the learning of antiquity or sympathize with the spirit of its verse are very few—they may be counted by twos and threes.³ Nevertheless, there exist some poets still; here and there men of merit are to be found, with many who do not get beyond mediocrity.

I cannot, of course, here speak of men of rank and office, but among others who have produced verse some may be mentioned.

There is, first of all, Sôjô Henjo, whose manner is successful, but his work is deficient in truth, like the picture of a beautiful woman, which excites emotion, but to no avail. Then we have Arihara Narihira, very full of feeling but poor in diction; his poetry reminds one of a faded flower that yet preserves some of its perfume. Bunya no Yasuhide, on the other hand, is an artist in words; with him form is better than substance. He is like a pedlar dressed up in fine silks. The priest of Mt. Uji, Kisen, is obscure, and his beginnings and endings do not chime⁴ [his verses lead up to no climax]; he is like an autumnal moon, bright at even, dim at dawn⁵.

¹ The various meanings of the title *Manyô* are explained in the Introduction to the *Manyôshû*, § II.

² Heian—the City of Peace, Kyôto.

³ Six poets are presently named.

⁴ As previously explained, the Japanese language, especially by its order of words and parts of a clause or sentence, lends itself to the expression of more or fewer climaxes leading up to a grand climax.

⁵ Interpretation. [Too little of his verse is extant to allow of a complete judgement of it.]

As to Ononokomachi¹, she has pathos but lacks power, like a fair but feeble woman². Ohotomo no Kuronushi, lastly, has a pretty turn for verse, but his form is poor; he is like a faggot-bearing boor resting under a blossomy cherry-tree.

Besides the above, many other versifiers are more or less known, the list of their names, indeed, would be as endless as a coil of *kazura*³ on a moorside; they are as multitudinous as the leaves of a forest of thick-foliaged trees, but they intend poetry rather than accomplish it.

Now in this His Majesty's gracious reign, when already ninefold had become the return of the four seasons, and the waves of His universal benevolence rippled beyond the Eight Islands⁴, while the protective shadow of His broad and large favour had grown more spacious than that cast by vast Tsukubane's hill, amid the myriad cares of government He, our Sovran, yet found leisure, nor neglected the multitude of matters. Therefore He forgot not antiquity, nor willed that the great past should be clean lost, but desired that the memory thereof should be handed on to future generations. And so it came about that on the eighteenth

¹ Interpolation. [Of the old school of the Princess Sotohori (consort of the Mikado Inkyō (412-53) who wrote many verses on her husband's infidelity.) Wōnonokomachi was a beauty of the ninth century, celebrated for her poetic powers and the miserable old age to which her pride conducted her. In point of diction, Mabuchi, the greatest scholar of modern Japan, places her above all other female writers of verse. See Chamberlain's *Classical Poetry of the Japanese*.]

² Interpolation. [A woman—and her verse is what might be expected of her sex.]

³ A species of ground creeper resembling a wild yin⁶.

⁴ The Eight, i. e. All the Islands = Japan.

day of the fourth month of the fifth year of Yengi, (May 25, A.D. 905) He. charged the Dainaiki¹, Ki no Tomonori, and the Privy Secretary, Ki no Tsurayuki [with others], to make a selection of ancient poems not contained in the Anthology.² with permission to add to these a few of their own composition. Some thousand poems were accordingly arranged in twenty books³, to which we have given the title *Kokinwakashū*—a Garner or Anthology of Japanese Verse, Old and New. Various are the themes dealt with; from the gathering of plum-blossoms in early Spring for chaplets, and the Summer song of the cuckoo⁴, and the plucking of the ruddy sprays of Autumn, to the contemplation of Winter's snow; the crane and the tortoise, as presages of long reign to His Majesty and long life to his subjects; the bush-clover and summer herbs, symbols of spousal love⁵; Afusaka (Ôzaka)⁶ hill, where the prayers of travellers to and from the Capital are offered to the god of Tāmuke; lastly, divers themes not drawn from the four seasons of Spring and Summer and Autumn and Winter.

So is our task ended, and an Anthology compiled plentiful as the floods fed by the unfailing waters of the hills, rich in examples as the seashore in grains of sand; may its reception meet with none of the

¹ Chief Secretary.

² Seven of the *uta* in the *Kokin* are also found in the *Manyōshū*.

³ In imitation of the Anthology, which is in twenty books.

⁴ In Japanese, the '*hototogisu*', the '*hototo*'-creeper, *Cuculus poliocephalus*. See *lay* 141.

⁵ At the time of the fall of the *hagi* (*Lespedeza*) the stag bells to call his mate.

⁶ A pass near City-Royal where it was customary to take leave of officials, accompanied so far on their way to their

obstructions that bar the stream of Asuka¹, and the joys it shall afford accumulate, as dust and pebbles gather together to form a high mountain, into a boulder of delight².

Lastly, as to our own style, any charm it may possess is but as the passing perfume of a spring blossom, and to claim for our work the durability of an autumnal night³ would expose us to criticism as to form, while as to substance we are filled with shame; yet, whether like a drifting cloud we move or rest, whether like a belling stag² we stand up or lie down [i. e. always], we rejoice to have been born in an age when such a task as that we have sought to achieve has been imposed upon us by royal command.

Hitomaro has passed away—but shall the poetic art stand still?⁴ Things change with change of times, joys and sorrows come and go—but shall not the letter of these poems be preserved? For ever the willows shoot forth their thready branches, the leaves of the pine-tree never fail, the coils of the creepers wander endlessly over the moorsides, the sea-fowl cease not

posts. In the *Hiyakunin Isshū* ('A Century of Stanzas by a Century of Poets') is a verse descriptive of it as a place of meeting and parting of friends and strangers.

¹ A river in Yamato, the bed of which is continually changing. ² Common similes found in the *Manyōshū*.

³ Here I follow what appears to be the sense of the parallel passage in the Chinese preface.

⁴ The conclusion of the preface is conceived after a fashion supposed to be proper for such compositions—a jumble of similes, metaphors, allusions, euphemisms, and Chinese ideas, intended and read rather as decorative matter than for any definite meaning it may contain, which it is far from easy to gather with accuracy from the loose and unarticulated construction. The whole text of the preface is more or less corrupt and correspondingly difficult to render accurately.

to imprint their tracts upon the sands of the shore ; and for ever, we trust, shall men, taking pleasure in the form and profiting by the content of these poems, revere the verse of ancient days as the moon in high heaven, and applaud the age which saw the production of this Anthology¹.

End of the Preface to the Kokinshū

THE NÔ, OR MIME, OF TAKASAGO OR AHIOHI

INTRODUCTION

THE term 'Nô' is the Japanese sound of the Chinese character 能 (nêng), which signifies 'ability'. It does not appear to be used in the Japanese sense in Chinese literature. In pure Japanese it is read 'yoku', well, excellent, efficacious, able. Captain Brinkley, in his monumental work on Japan¹, translates Nô as 'accomplishment'. It

¹ See the third volume. An interesting translation is given of one of the *Nô no utahi*, intitled *Ataka* (see *Yôkyoku Tsûge*, vol. iii, p. 68). In Prof. Chamberlain's *Classical Poetry of the Japanese* an account of the Nô will be found, and spirited versions of four of them; 'The Robe of Feathers' (*Hagoromo*), 'The Death-Stone' (*Sesshi seki*), 'Life is a Dream' (*Kantan*) and *Nakamitsu*. Dr. Aston has described the Nô dramas in his *History of Japanese Literature* (1899), and translated part of *Takasago*. Perhaps the most interesting account of these dramas, after that of Captain Brinkley, is the one given by Mr. Mitford (now Lord Redesdale) in his delightful *Tales of Old Japan*, where (p. 108 sqq., edition of 1901) he describes the performance of four Nô before the Duke of Edinburgh at the Yashiki of the Prince of Kishiu (in 1869 in Yedo, and summarizes the *utahi* or libretto of each of them—one was 'The Robe of Feathers' mentioned above. The *Nô no utahi*, intitled *Urashima*, founded on the well-known story of the 'Fisher-boy of Mizunoya' (*Tsûge*, vol. viii) is a good

is, however, sufficiently well rendered by 'play' or 'drama'. The expression *mime* is descriptive. In the *Kotoba no Izumi*, it is explained as derived from the *Sarugake* (sort of comic dance), combined with *yôkyoku* (song), a combination completed under the Ashikaga shôgunate by Kwan-ami and his son Se-ami, whence the school of Nô-wrights known as Kwanse or Kwanze. It is essentially an entertainment composed of music, posture and gesture, dancing, singing or chanting, reciting and dialogue. The vocal portion, or 'libretto', is the *utahi*, strictly song as distinct from dialogue, &c., and it is of the *utahi* of the Nô of *Takasago* that a translation is offered in the following pages.

In the Encyclopaedia *Wakan Sansaizuw*¹, vol. xvii, a clue is given to the origin of the Nô and their *utahi*, in the articles *Heike-gatari* (reciters of the fortunes of the Hei family), *Jôruri* ('pure emerald singers'²—i. e. of emotional

instance of the Buddhist treatment, in mediaeval times, of ancient traditions. (Cf. Lay of Urashima, *ante* p. 136.)

The edition of the *Nô no utahi* I have used is the well-known *Yôkyoku Tsûge* (Mediaeval Dramatic Poems, with notes) in eight volumes. It is good, but insufficient, and leaves many difficulties unsolved.

¹ *Japanese and Chinese Illustrated Encyclopaedia of the Three Powers* (Heaven, Earth, and Man), published in 105 volumes in the first decade of the eighteenth century. It is founded upon the Chinese *Book of Nature*, and presents a wonderfully complete picture of Japanese life and thought in the middle Tokugawa period. It would be well worth complete translation.

² *Jôrihime* was the name of a mistress of the favourite hero Yoshitsune, brother of Yoritomo, founder of the hereditary Shôgunate (about 1180). But, for analogous reasons, the same designation may have been given to the lay and the particular form of half prose, half poetic drama-story known as *Jôruri*. Captain Brinkley points out that the loves of *Jôrihime* were first sung by a lady of the Court of Nobunaga—or his successor Hideyoshi, the Taikô. These compositions, therefore, were posterior to the original Nô libretti, none of which are later

themes), and *Dengaku* (country music—i.e. of priestly or priest-like mimics). Of each of these types of artist a quaint woodcut is given, and a most interesting account of them and their functions will be found in Captain Brinkley's great work already mentioned¹. Earlier than the Nô performances, which were mainly Buddhist in character, were the *Kagura*², or *Shintô* mimic representations of the enticement, by dance and song, of the Sun-goddess from the cave into which, offended by the action of her brother, who threw the hide of a horse flayed backwards over her as she worked at her loom, she had retreated, and so cast the world into darkness.³ It was, speaking broadly, of the amalgamation by Buddhist priests of these newer and older forms (*Heike-gatari* and *Dengaku*) that the Nô drama was born—one of the many important results of the partial confiscation for its own purposes by Buddhism of the inchoate naturalistic religion, and of the history and tradition of ancient Japan and, less often, of China. It was, however, not directly from the *Dengaku* performances, but from the 'monkey-mimes' (*Sarugaku*) which replaced them at the Kyôto Court, that the Nô was immediately derived.⁴ The dancer and reciter now became an actor, with stage, greenroom, and scenery. The following brief account of the Nô as represented under the Ashikaga shôgunate—for, as already mentioned, it was at the Court of this dynasty of Shôguns (1338–1565) that they attained

than the sixteenth century. *Ruri* in Chinese seems to designate the lapis-lazuli, rather than the emerald—or possibly the turquoise. It is not a Chinese word,—it may be of Persian or Indian origin.

¹ Vol. iii, p. 18.

² *kami kura*, divine seat or stage; the Shintô shrines were the abodes, or rather places of manifestation, of the gods.

³ Also of the story of the two brother deities, hunter and fisherman—a very important tradition of historical value—well told by Dr. Aston in his chapter on the Nô (*Hist. Jap. Lit.*), more fully in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, and in Dr. Aston's recently published *Shintô*. Cf. Introduction, § X.

⁴ Brinkley, *op. cit.* vol. iii, p. 26.

their full development—is based upon extracts kindly made for me by my friend Mr. Minakata from Mr. Taguchi's excellent work *Nihon Shakwai Jii* (Dictionary of [Old] Japanese Societies and Guilds, 2nd ed. 1901, vol. i, p. 270 sqq., and vol. ii, p. 1163 sqq.).

Yûki Jibu Kiyotsugu (1355–1406) was the founder of the present Nô. His son Yûki Yajiro Motokiyo (1373–1455) greatly developed the music, which was further improved by the latter's nephew, who founded the Kwanze school—one of the five *za* (seats) or schools, of which the others were known as Hôshô, Komparu, Kongô, and Kita, names in part of a personal, in part of a Buddhist signification. In a complete Nô there are six actors (occasionally more): (1) *shite* (act-hand = actor) principal actor, hero (*tayû*) or protagonist; (2) his *tsure*, or companion or assistant; (3) *waki* (side-actor), a sort of deuteragonist—his part fulfilled the 'other side', so to speak, of the story, but his name merely implied subordination; (4) his *tsure*; (5) *kokata*, child-part often, introduced merely to add pathos or interest to the play; (6) *ahi* (interlude-actor), who came on either to fill the stage during a temporary retirement of *shite* or *waki* (to change masks or costumes), or to act as a foil to either or both of them. There might also be a second *shite* or hero, known then as *ato shite* (after-actor)—as the God of Suminoye in *Takasago*. There were also two sorts of *tsure*; *tomo*, companion, and *tachishiru*, attendant.

The *utahi*, or libretto, was mainly the work of Buddhist priests, and often largely consisted of passages plagiarized from the works of the poets, as well as from other sources, including Chinese philosophical treatises. The schools were rather musical and histrionic than literary. Originally, perhaps, the *shite* and *waki* were the only two actors. A distinct chorus does not appear to have then existed, but the actors, all or some of them, chanting or reciting together, took its place; at a later period some of the musicians (*utakigata*) may have assisted, or possibly shrine attendants may have done so. Mr. Chamberlain represents the chorus as a separate element, squatting to the right of the audience. There was an ὀρχήστρα and προσκήμιον—a raised and roofed

stage some eighteen feet square, with a σκηνή consisting of greenroom and anteroom connected with the ὀρχήστρα by a bridge or gallery. The spectators sat, or rather squatted or stood round three sides of a rectangle, under a sort of wooden portico. Between this and the ὀρχήστρα was an open space or pit. The music was a discord of drums, tambourines, and flutes. Masks were used¹, but not, apparently, by the *waki*. Though Buddhist in character, the Nô were performed originally before Shintô *miya* or shrines. They were always more or less didactic—the precept being often partly Shintoist, partly Buddhist, partly Confucianist. Thus in the *Takasago* we find reverence for the god, honour to the Mikado, and the Confucianist virtue of wedded love inculcated. The Old Japanese were born Shintoists, died Buddhists, and lived, more or less, as Confucianists. There seems to have been no scenery, but in remembrance, perhaps, of the *Takasago*, which may have been the earliest of those now extant, three small pine-trees were placed, one on each of the three open sides of the ὀρχήστρα, and a pine-tree was represented upon a curtain behind the προσκήμιον². Dr. Aston condemns the free use of word-plays and pivot-words—words used in two senses, one corresponding to what precedes and one to what follows. I have dealt with this matter in the Introduction to the *Manyôshû*. The word-plays are most frequent in the *michiyuki* (descriptions of journeys, recited by the protagonist or one of the actors or chorus), and bring in, often dexterously and gracefully enough, qualities of beauty or singularity, or associations³, historical or other, involved in or suggested by the names of the places traversed. They resembled the *kaidô-kudari* (goings down of officials from the capital by the sea-roads) of later

¹ Singularly like those used by Greek actors.

² See Chamberlain's *Classical Poetry of the Japanese*.

³ See Introduction to this volume, section xi. Word-plays are not over common in the *Takasago*; sometimes I have tried to incorporate their value in the translation, more often this has not proved possible.

times, composed in debased *naga-uta* style. There is a well-known example in the *Taiheiki*, and a fairly good one will be found in the Bridal Journey, described in the *jôruri* known as *Chiushingura*, of which a translation ('The Loyal League') was published many years ago by the present writer.

In the *Yôkyoku Tsûge* (Explanation of Songs) are collected 262 *Nô no utahi*. The subjects are myths, legends, stories, traditions, personages, historical or other, doctrines, usages, Buddhist and Chinese themes. Notwithstanding much repetition, plagiarism, conventionalism, disconnectedness, lack of dramatic power, of humour or wit, and superabundance of verbal conceit, many of the *utahi* are charming productions in their way, less stilted in diction than similar Chinese literary pieces, and distinguished by a certain quaintness and simplicity—the very conventionalisms are artless,—old-worldness and naïve didacticism, that are very attractive. Among them *Takasago* is, perhaps, the freshest in tone and the least artificial in diction and phrasing. But the 'Robe of Feathers' (*Hagoromo*), admirably translated by Professor Chamberlain in his *Classical Poetry of the Japanese*, displays, I think, more delicate fancy and exquisiteness, and grace of language than any other among these mediæval dramas.

Though the themes of the *utahi* are sometimes drawn, as already mentioned, from Chinese sources, the *utahi* owe nothing elsewise to Chinese literature. They are not influenced by the Chinese drama of the Sung period, and the more developed drama of later dynasties had not been produced when the Kwanze playwrights began their labours.

In the *Tsûge* we find an elaborate introduction to the work, of which a summary is added:—Song and dance arose out of the need of expression of human feelings of joy and grief, one's own or others. Our primitive ancestors found this expression in hand-clapping, or singing with branches of trees in their hands, accompanied by simple forms of music. In time these modes became more refined and various, and about the end of the Nara period verse was used at the Court for temple and ritual purposes, and was

improved by the application of Chinese and Korean methods. In these early days such simple lines as the following satisfied the people :—

‘Delightful ’tis to watch the gaieties of the Court on winter nights when the snow collects on the bamboo branches—’

‘O’er Hôrai’s peak have flown a thousand years, a thousand autumns have come and gone, a myriad years have passed—’

‘There in the pine-groves still build the cranes their nests—’

‘There disport them the tortoises about the high rocks.’

[The ‘simplicity’ lies in the absence of verbal embellishments—word-jugglery and pillow-words.]

But men ever desire change. In the Ashikaga period dance and song were allied ; blind men had previously sung or chanted the fortunes of the Taira house to the accompaniment of the lute ; various forms of the dance were introduced, and ultimately the *sarugaku* comedy was invented out of increased sympathy with popular feelings and manners.

These plays, intended to please the gods, delighted the vulgar ; the character of the *okina* (ancient) represented Daijingu (the Sun-goddess), the thousand years’ dance the god Koin (Togakushi, Tajikara), the white-haired Sambansô (Sambasô) the Bright Deity of Sumiyoshi. Then came the Nô, due to the talent of Kwan-ami and his son Se-ami, the themes of which were of every kind, distributed in three categories ; greater and greater became the influence of Buddhism, and the rude age was softened, ghost and spirit Nô were in favour, and a fourth category of subjects, more religious, popular, and human, came into vogue. The great Hideyoshi delighted in Nô, and caused several new ones to be composed. Under the Tokugawa government Nô were fashionable, and even the military class, who could not, without shame, even enter a theatre, took part in these performances, which were specially celebrated at the installation of a Kubosama (Shôgun).

It is sometimes said that the *utahî* are more or less

untranslatable. This does not appear to me to be the case. If the irregularities of syntax are neglected, the allusions understood, and the values of the word-jugglery allowed for, the texts, so far as they are not corrupt, are not particularly difficult to understand. But to convey to a Western reader, without illegitimate and destructive paraphrase, their full meaning, apparent enough to an educated Japanese, is, of course, impossible.

The Persons of the Drama are:—

The *shite*, or protagonist, an Ancient, being the Manifestation or Presence of the Spirit of the Pine-tree of Sumiyoshi (or Suminoye) in Settsu.

The *tsure*, or companion of the Ancient, being a Dame, the Manifestation or Presence of the Spirit of the Pine-tree of Takasago in Hárima.

The *ato shite*, or deuteragonist—the part being taken by the *shite*—the Manifestation or Presence of the God (representing the three gods) of Sumiyoshi.

The *waki*, or side-actor (tritagonist), being Tomonari, the Warden of the Shintô shrine of Aso in Higo (south-west of Kiushiu).

The scene of the Prologue is the shore near Aso; of the first Act the scene is the strand of Takasago, of the second Act the scene is the strand of Sumiyoshi. (On the stage there is no differentiation of scene.)

The chorus would, originally at least, consist of the actors. At a later period more or fewer of the musicians and songmen (*utahigata*) took choral parts. It does not seem that there was any special chorus. It has, however, been supposed that the *waki* was accompanied by two *hafuri* (shrine-servants), who acted as chorus.

The performance began with the entry, from behind, of the *shite* and his *tsure* and the *waki*, who—in later times perhaps some of the musicians—would chant the opening quatrain. Upon the stage a Pine-tree was originally placed, afterwards represented by a picture on a curtain of the Tree under which the Spirits of the Trees of Taka-

sago and Sumiyoshi were depicted, holding rakes in their hands and sweeping up the fallen needles.

The dancing or posturing would be part of the duty of the actors, not of the chorus, the functions of which only distantly resemble those of the chorus in the Greek Drama.

TAKASAGO

Nô no utahi Takasago.

PROLOGUE

SCENE.—*The Seashore near Aso in Higo.*

CHORUS.

TOMONARI.

Chorus. In traveller's trim
now first he fareth forth,
and far the way is,
and many the days before him.

Tomonari. I who speak, Sirs, am Warden of the shrine of Aso in the land of Higo within the isle of the Nine Territories¹, and Tomonari is my name. Never yet have I beheld City-Royal, and so am I minded to go up to the Capital; and for that so good an occasion may not be mine again, I would fain turn aside a space by the way and gaze upon the strand of Takasago in the land of Harima.

Chorus (describing the journey).

In trim of traveller
this day to start he mindeth
for City-Royal,
for distant City-Royal—
across the surf he
upon the shipway oareth,

¹ The province of Kiusiu.

gentle the skies are, ' '
 the, spring-winds softly blowing—
 what tale of days shall
 his bark in the cloudy distance '
 sail o'er the sea-plain
 till Harima he reacheth,
 and Takasago
 at last his keel receiveth,
 his keel receiveth !

ACT I

SCENE.—*The Strand of Takasago overshadowed by an ancient gnarled and wide-branched Pine-tree.*

TOMONARI. THE ANCIENT OF SUMINOYE.

THE DAME OF TAKASAGO.

Ancient and Dame together.

In the Pine-tree
 of Takasago murmureth
 the gentle spring-wind,
 across the darkening air
 the deep tones wafting
 of the bell of old Onöe ²—

¹ On the north shore of the Inland Sea, west of Kobe.

² In Murakami's *Harima Meisho-zuwa* (Illustrated Description of the Province of Harima, 1863), vol. iii, Onöe (*wo no uhe*) is described as a pine-grove in Osada, where the shrines of two deities Sumiyoshi Myōjin (Illustrious God), and Ohara, Dai myōjin (Great Illustrious God) exist. Finally there were three gods of Sumiyoshi, of the upper (or nearer ?) middle (remote ?) and bottom (furthest ?) waters. When Jingu, the Queen-Regnant (A.D. 201–69), had completed her conquest of Korea, she built here the Sumiyoshi shrine and called the place Takasago (High Dune). Changes in the coastline occurred, and Takasago (which was a little port) disappeared, while Old Takasago became Onöe. [Possibly the twain trees originally grew near

Dame. Mid the 'rocks mist-hidden
the roar of the surf resoundeth ;

Ancient and Dame.

or ebb or flood be
the cadenced music telleth.

Ancient. Whom may I friend hail
if mine own ancient comrade
I may not call thee,
O Tree of Takasago !
with whom sweet converse
to hold of long past years
beneath the snows
of many a winter white hid—
for wont I have been

these shrines, and of their proximity the memory was preserved in the story, when Sumiyoshi in Tsu came into existence.] The *Kokin* preface (in this volume) mentions the *akiohi no matsu*, and a writer, Minamoto no Toshifuri(?), of the eleventh century, landed at Takasago, and finding the tree destroyed, composed a verse. These are the earliest notice of the Twain Trees in Japanese literature.

There are two sayings about the pine-tree which are worth giving. One is *Matsu to ifu ji wo sakashima yomeba tsuma to naru no de ureshikaro* ; if you read the syllabic characters of *ma tsu* (*matsu*, pine) backwards you have *tsu ma* (*tsuma*) 'spouse', which is, *more japonico*, a pleasant conceit. The other turns upon an analysis of the character 松 (pine-tree) ; *matsu to ifu ji wo wakachite yomeba kimi to boku to no futari-zure*, if you dissect the character for pine-tree, you have 木 *boku*, 'tree,' and 公 *kimi*, 'you' *Boku* is also the pronunciation of 僕 'I myself', so that the saying means that the analysis of the character gives the pair of *ego* and *tu*. The one saying involves the notion of spousal love, the other that of friendship.

In Titsingh's *Japan* will be found an illustration of Takasago no ura.

or night or morn, or slée·ping
 on my rude pallet¹,
 like hoary crane's nest whiten'd
 with mor·ping moonshine,
 or spring-time's rimy sparkle
 like moonshine gleaming,
 or waking with the daybreak,
 in the murmurous music
 the winds make in thy leafery
 to find new gladness—
 so communing with my own heart
 my night thoughts give me,
 in utterance give me solace.

Ancient and Dame.

What ask the winds
 what ask they of the Pine-tree ?
 the falling leaves
 blown by the shore winds down
 upon our garments²
 they give the answer, give they³,
 the leaves low-fallen
 we sweep and heap
 beneath the Pine-tree's shadow ;
 'tis Takasago

¹ He compares his couch with the crane's nest, usually figured as built amid the Takasago pine branches. The crane, like the tree, was a symbol of longevity—the tortoise also ; Pine, Crane, and Tortoise (long haired) with the Ancient Pair are commonly represented together.

² There is here an allusion to a dress of the colour of autumn leafery, but the leaves themselves are also regarded as a sort of vestment.

³ An allusion to the phrase *koto no ha* ('leaves of speech,' see *Kokin* preface, ante) for *kotoba*.

'tis the Tree of yore Onöe's¹
 doth bide for ever
 the waves of Time affronting—
 so gather we
 the leaves low¹ fallen gather,
 while ever the Pine-tree
 shall ever live its life days,
 and Takasago
 its fame preserve for ever,
 its fame for ever!

Tomonari. Ah, I looked to meet some village-folk here, and now come forth an Ancient and his Dame. Good people, I would ask a thing of you.

Ancient. Is it to me you speak, Sir, what would you know?

Tomonari. Tell me, which among these trees I see is the Pine of Takasago?

Ancient. The Tree it is, Sir, under whose shadow we sweep and heap the fallen leaves.

Tomonari. The Pine of Takasago and the Pine of Suminoye, *aioi no matsu*, the Wedded Pines, the poets name them, the Pines that grow old together; yet wide apart lie the strands of Suminoye and Takasago, how, then, may these Trees be called the Wedded Pines!

Ancient. 'Tis so, Sir, as you are pleased to say. In the foreword of 'Songs, Old and New' is it not written that the story of the Trees of Takasago and Suminoye witnesseth of spousal love? I, this Ancient, am of Sumiyoshi in the land of Tsu, this Dame is native-born, read you us the riddle, if you may, Sir.

¹ A somewhat bold attempt to represent the word-play in the text.

Tomonari. A miracle 'tis, good sooth! a wedded pair :I behold you dwelling here together, yet hill and sea and moorland wide lie between Suminoye and Takasago ; I can not read the riddle.

Dame. Not well considered, Sir, would I say your words are, for though thousands of leagues of land and water part, them, yet between wedded folk whose thoughts and feelings ay commingle never long is affection's path.

Ancient. Yet again bethink you, Sir—

Ancient and Dame. Things unquick are the Trees of Takasago and Sumiyoshi, yet men well call them the Wedded Pines. But we who speak have sense and feeling, to this year for many a year hath the Ancient of Sumiyoshi and the Dame of Takasago known spousal union, years many as the Tree hath endured time have they been a Wedded Pair, *aioi no fûfu*, who grow old together!

Tomonari. Ah! fair are your words and pleasant ; but tell me, tell me, bides there not in these parts some memory of the ancient story of the Wedded Pines which grow old together!

Ancient. The sages of old time have told us that the Wedded Trees were sign and presage of a happy age.

Dame. The story of Takasago is as old as the 'Garner of Ancient Verse'¹ that goeth back to the elder time.

Ancient. And Sumiyoshi² betokeneth the joy of living in this happy Yengi³ age.

¹ The *Manyôshû*.

² *Sumiyoshi* = 'where (or when) 'tis good to dwell (exist).'

³ *Yengi* means 'prolong-joy', it is the name of a year-period (A. D. 901-22).

Dame. The Pine-tree telleth us of the countless leaves of speech—

Ancient. Now, as of yore, the tree flourisheth, ever green—

Ancient and Dame. And ever doth its unceasing greenery adorn the age—

Tomonari. Now do I understand and thank you well, good folk; of doubt my mind is clear as a cloudless sky in Spring¹.

Ancient. How soft yon light that falleth on the western sea!

Tomonari. There lieth Suminōye—

Ancient. On Takasago's shore we stand,

Tomonari. The Pines their greenery blend—

Ancient. O time of Spring!

Tomonari. How balmy 'tis!

*Chorus*².

In waveless peace
the four seas lap our shores,
the gentle tide winds
no murmur mid the woods wake,
Oh, fair the age is!
fair yonder Pine-trees' spousal,
aiōino
aiōinomatsu,
whose happy augury
men note with awe and wonder,
while vainly seek they
meet words their thanks to utter,

¹ There is a word-play here on *haru*, which means Spring, and also to clear up (as weather).

² These lines are sung at weddings as an epithalamium. At such ceremonies, in various ways, the story of the Twain Trees is represented.

in such an age
that they do live rejoicing
in their Lord's abundant bounty.

Tomonari. Ah tell me, tell me all the happy story of the Pine of Takasago!

Chorus. Well! no souls have trees and herbs, men say, yet never miss they their appointed times of flower and fruit, they love the warm light of Spring, and first those flowers blow whose buds look to the midday—

Ancient. Yea! and this Pine-tree ever flourisheth, showing bloom and leaf, all heedless of change of season.

Chorus. Aye! through Spring and Summer and Autumn and Winter, under deepest snow, and for a thousand years it bideth green, yea for ten flower-cycles of a thousand years its hue endureth.¹

Ancient. Such virtue hath the Pine-tree.

Chorus. The pearly dew-drops that hang on its leaves—leaves of speech belike—do cleanse the heart of man.

Ancient. All living things that live—

Chorus. Under the protecting shadow of our wide-isled² land do they not flourish?

A member of the chorus here recites the kuse³ or

¹ This passage is poetized prose. There exists a stanza on the pine-blossom that shows only once in a millennium. The floral organs of the pine were, of course, not understood in Old Japan.

² Written 'spread out islands'—a name for Japan. Possibly an ancient capital is intended.

³ Or possibly the *shite* only. The speech is called *kuse*, which may be rendered as 'chief argument', or 'inner meaning', or 'precept' of the piece.

precept of the piece. Aye! and as Chônô¹ hath it, all things, or quick or unquick, are revealed in song; herbs and trees and soil and sand, the whispers of the wind, the babble of the brooks—all contain the soul of poetry. The sway of the woods in Spring under the eastern breezes, the chirrup of the cicada among the dews that moisten the unsunn'd foliage in Autumn, are they not forms or models of our native verse? In the universe of things that grow, doth not the Pine-tree surpass all the world of trees; bright as a full bevy of court nobles², the green leafery defieth a thousand autumns unshowing any change of hue—well worthy, belike, the Pine-tree is of the badge of rank bestowed upon it by China's Sovran Shikyo!³ In barbarian lands, within our own borders, by all the peoples of earth, is not the Pine-tree held blessed?

Ancient. Hark! I hear
the solemn tone of Onoe's bell
by Takasago.

Chorus. Though with the daydawn
the hoar-frost shineth chilly
the Pine-tree ever
unchang'd its leafery showeth,
in the deep green shadow
or morn or evening
the fallen leaves we sweep,
yet ever fall they,

¹ A poet who flourished in the reign of the first Ichijō (987-1191).

² A play on the character for pine 松, which may be dissected into 八十 (80 = many), 公, nobles or princes.

³ Shi Hwangti, the Chinese Emperor, B.C. 259-210, who bestowed rank upon a Pine-tree that gave him shelter from a shower of rain.

for true it is that never
 yon leafery perisheth,
 and ages long endureth
 the Pine-tree's greenery
 as wild moof-creeper endless,
 among the trees
 that keep their freshness ever
 deathless the fame is
 of the Pine of Takasago
 for ay a symbol,
aiōinomatsu,
 and sign of wedded joyance.

*Chorus.*¹ Well have ye told the ancient story of the Pine-trees whose everlasting bloom hath earned such fame, but, Sir and Dame, tell me how ye be called.

Ancient and Dame. Why should we not tell them, we are the spirits of the Pine-trees of Takasago and Suminoye that grow old together. As a wedded pair do we present ourselves.

Chorus. Now are manifest the wedded spirits. O wonder! such then is the mystery of the Pine-trees that o'ershadow these famous strands.²

Ancient and Dame. Though plants and trees be things unquick—

Chorus. In this auspicious age—

Ancient and Dame. Or trees or herbs—

Chorus. In this our land
 our mighty Sovran ruleth
 beneath his sway
 'tis good to live³ for ever,

¹ Or perhaps one or more of the musicians, or song-men (*utahi gata*).

² i. e. Takasago and Suminoye.

³ See note 2, p. 404.

and Sumiyoshi
 where fair it is to dwell
 our wanderer fair
 would seek, and humbly there
 the god await—
 wherefore 'tis now he climbeth,
 on fisher's bark
 anigh the sea-marge floateth,
 and forth he fareth
 by favouring breezes wafted,
 across the waters
 the evening waters fareth.
Tomonari. From Takasago
 on fisher's bark I climb
 and sail away
 far o'er the waves of ocean
 as the pale moon riseth,
 under Awaji's shadow
 I cleave the waters
 'yond roaring Naruwo faring,
 till Sumiyoshi
 I reach, fair Sumiyoshi!

ACT II

SCENE—*The Strand of Sumiyoshi in Settsu.*

THE GOD OF SUMIYOSHI.

CHORUS.

God of Sumiyoshi (entering) ¹

Long 'tis since saw I
 the Princess Pine that groweth

¹ What the god chants here is said to have been of his own composition. There is considerable doubt as to the personages of the remaining dialogue. I take the view that they are the god and the chorus—the god, as *ato-shite*, being represented by the *shite* with changed dress and mask.

by Sumiyoshi
 nor knoweth, belike, the Sovran
 how many an age through
 my grace on him hath rested ;
 and now for generations
 as palace-fence enduring,
 to cheer my heart
 be the sacred mime enacted,
 wherefore the night drums
 bring, and beat out their music,
 ye servants of the shrine.

Chorus. From the western sea
 from where the waves are breaking
 upon Aoki ¹—

God of Sumiyoshi.
 cometh the holy Presence,
 in this fair spring-tide
 when the Tree Divine full flourisheth,⁴
 and still the snows lie
 lightly on As'kagata ²—

Chorus. where men do gather
 on the strand rich seaweed harvest—

God of Sumiyoshi.
 at foot of the ancient Pine-tree
 I will recline me—

Chorus.
 with a thousand years' green leafery
 his ³ hands full filled be—

¹ The god came originally from Aokigahara (see *Zoku Kokin*, a continuation of 'Songs Old and New').

² Asakayama is in Settsu. Another hill, so named, is in Michinoku. See note 3, p. 381.

³ Or 'my'. The vagueness is characteristic of Japanese

God of Sumiyoshi.

and spray of plum-tree gathered
my head adorning—

Chorus.

like latest snows of winter
the blossoms deck him.

Chorus. To the god of Sumiyoshi, since clear the
moon shineth, let us offer thanks and praise, and for
many an age adore his Presence that deigneth to take
pleasure in this fair abode.

God of Sumiyoshi.

The virgin voices,
how clear is their music
beneath the Pine-tree
of bright-shored Suminoye,
as featly dance they
to the air of the ' Blue Sea Wave
by the blue sea where
the shadow is reflected
of the Princess Pine-tree.

Chorus.

The way of god and Sovran
towards City-Royal
will now be straightway wended²
this fair spring season—

God of Sumiyoshi.

'Tis the Dance of ' Joyeuse Rentrée '

Chorus. for years ten thousand

poetry, and often, as here, is not without effect as broadening
the field of suggestion.

^f The meaning of this passage is not quite clear.

God of Sumiyoshi.

in ritual vestments

Chorus. let arms extended
all ill fend from the land,
and arms fair-folded
embrace all happiness,
and make the folk glad
with the 'Joy of a Thousand Autumns',
long life give all men
with the 'Joy of a Myriad Years'—
aiwino matsuri
among the Wedded Pine-trees
growing old together
may gentle winds for ever
wake music ever haunting
and ever the world enchanting!¹

¹ The last three lines are a slightly paraphrased rendering of the text. 'Blue Sea Wave', 'Joyeuse Rentrée', 'Joy of a Thousand Autumns', and 'Joy of a Myriad Years', are all titles of Chinese musical pieces.

End of the Mime of Takasago.

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Italic type denotes place-names, roman personal names; italic figures denote the number of the *lay*, roman the page, and roman numerals the page of the Introduction.

Pronounce vowels as in German, but 'u' as in English 'put'; never as in 'cut', 'flute,' or 'union'; at end of words, and after dentals and sibilants, 'u' is very short. The consonants are sounded as in English, aspiration well observed. Every letter is pronounced, there are no diphthongs. Every syllable is open. There is little accent (as in French), and that on the penultimate unless otherwise marked. See also Introduction, volume of texts.

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